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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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NEWSPAPER

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U.S. Commissioner Gives Plans

How Neighborhood Schools Can Be Destroyed

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

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Last month, U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II made a little-noticed speech to the City Club of Chicago which deserves a lot of attention.

For this powerful federal official, with billions of dollars at his command, is apparently dedicated to the destruction of the neighborhood schools and the bussing of children long distances from their homes.

Said Commissioner Howe, as quoted, on page A 2946 of the May 31 *Congressional Record:*

> "Traditional school district boundaries often serve education badly and may have to be changed. . . . We could, for example, alter political boundaries to bring the social, economic, and intellectual strengths of the suburbs to bear on the problems of the city schools.
>
> "Building programs for the future could be planned so that new schools break up, rather than continue, segregation of both the racial and economic sort. The Office of Education will provide federal planning funds for such efforts right now . . . and if I have my way the office will provide construction funds before long.
>
> "We have recently been considering financial support for a comprehensive study of a system of educational parks to be established within the inner city. We visualize each of these centralized school complexes as educational centers that would provide classes ranging from pre-kindergarten through junior college.
>
> "And we are particularly interested in finding one or two great American cities that are adventurous enough to join us in planning the educational park of the future. These entities will house 20,000 or more pupils and will cut across all geographic, economic and social boundaries to draw students. While such a park would deny the neighborhood school, it would express the vitality, the imagination and the cultural mix that every vigorous city exemplifies."

Well, there you have it. "The educational park of the future." The use of government funds "if I have my way," not merely to plan but to construct super-schools to which even pre-kindergarteners will be transported to provide a "cultural mix." This, remember, is the U.S. commissioner of education speaking.

When federal aid to education was first proposed, you remember that doubters expressed the fear that this would open the way for federal direction of America's public education. The proponents vigorously denied this. All that was wanted, they swore, was to enlist the federal government helping in improving schools that would still be under "local control."

Now, what is Commissioner Howe up to? He would take money from all the taxpayers living in all school districts and use part of it for special construction bonuses for cities that adopted his plan. Such a special bonus, conferred upon the few made up of funds contributed by the many, is the same as a penalty against the many. This, then, would be a form of punishment levied against all school districts that didn't fall in with Commissioner Howe's scheme.

When agitation was started to create some form of "cultural mix" by hauling children long distances to schools in strange neighborhoods, the outcry from parents, particularly in the New York City area, was loud. In a subsequent opinion even the U.S. Supreme Court disclaimed any intention of outlawing the right of a parent to send his child to the school closest to home.

And even the far-out social theorists, who revel in compulsion designed to achieve noble aims, were reluctant to grasp the nettle of picking specific pupils to go to specific schools. But Commissioner Howe has apparently solved the problem. He would destroy the neighborhood school itself.

It would do parents no good to move around, seeking a better school environment for their children. If they lived in a city in which five per cent of school age children were Negroes, the "educational park of the future," with its 20,000 or more pupils, would be five per cent Negro. And if the Negro school population were 60 per cent, the superschools would be the same.

Some unreconstructed parents might then attempt to move out of the city school district altogether, to flee to the suburbs. But Mr. Howe has prepared a whammy for them.

You recall that he said: "We could, for example, alter political boundaries to bring the social, economic, and intellectual strengths of the suburbs to bear on the problems of the city schools."

What else can you read into this except that Commissioner Howe is prepared to rush in where the Supreme Court feared to tread? And the power behind the revolution he seeks to engineer are the dollars taken from all citizens which, his boys were swearing a year ago, would never be used in any attempt at federal direction.

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U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe talks of huge "educational parks" with 20,000 or more pupils, cutting across geographical, social and economic lines.

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'Great Society' Needs a Slogan

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● An acknowledged Marxist intellectual, Dr. Diogense de la Rosa, heads the Panama diplomatic team now negotiating with the United States over revision of the Panama Canal treaty.

● Adam Yarmolinsky, the controversial Pentagon idea man who leaves the Defense Department July 1, will most probably be doing work for Bobby Kennedy in the near future. His immediate plans: to take a teaching post at Harvard Law School and help out with the organization of the Kennedy Memorial Library in Cambridge.

● A top Peace Corps official with the initials H.W. recently told a group of Latins that while he was opposed to communism he felt that "communism could solve Brazil's problems."

● Bobby Kennedy returned from South Africa to criticize the Voice of America for beaming pro-U.S. "propaganda" to the Dark Continent. The New York senator suggested the VOA use "factual matter" instead, then said that Peace Corps volunteers had told him they preferred to listen to broadcasts from Communist China because they were "far more interesting." The Red radio, of course, broadcasts only blatant propaganda.

● Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) last week accused Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman of taking a "political junket" at taxpayer expense. The GOP lawmaker said that Freeman "commandeered a military plane" to fly to Iowa to roast Gross and other Republicans.

● New York Mayor John Lindsay has promised to clean up crime in Gotham city, but he'll find it hard to do without policemen. The New York **Daily News** last week reported that the backbone of the city police department--detectives, officers, seasoned patrolmen --"are quitting the force in near-record numbers." Over 700 men have retired or quit since the first of this year, whereas approximately 260 left the force in the first six months of 1965.

● Rep. Tom Curtis (R.-Mo.) is looking into the tax-exempt status of the left-wing National Student Association, a long-time promoter of radical legislation.

● A number of liberals in Washington have become even more disenchanted with LBJ after having read Philip L. Geyelin's **Lyndon B. Johnson and the World**. According to Geyelin, LBJ, contemptuously referring to two liberal idols, once remarked that handing over the Dominican Republic to Juan Bosch "would be like turning it over to Arthur Schlesinger Jr."

● Vice President Humphrey recently fired off telegrams to 2,600 educators announcing creation of the Federal Teachers Corps. The 135-word wires asked their aid in recruiting members for the "vital and innovative" program. Dean Constantine W. Curtis of Midway Junior College, Midway, Ky., was angered. He sent Humphrey's wire to Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.) with this note: "Enclosed is a telegram (misaddressed) received at Midway Junior College last week. Apparently such telegrams were sent to all institutions of higher education throughout the country. As you can easily see, the telegram approaches asininity, taking approximately 135 words to convey an inconsequential message. This is a small, though lucid, example of the waste characterizing current federal bureaucratic procedures."

● Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) last week presented to the Senate an "authoritative analysis of the legal basis for U.S. assistance to the Republic of Viet Nam." The report thoroughly debunks the assertions of Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) and the radical Lawyers Committee on Viet Nam that the United States is violating international law by intervening on the side of the South Viet Nam government. The analysis was prepared by three highly respected law professors: Myres S. McDougal, of Yale, former president of the American Society of International Law; John Norton Moore of the University of Virginia; and James L. Underwood of the University of South Carolina.

● Some more names on the National Conference for New Politics, a fund-raising group for left-wing political candidates: Josiah Beeman, national committeeman, California Federation of Young Democrats; Victoria Gray, Mississippi Freedom Democratic party; comedian Dick Gregory; Lee Webb, United Packinghouse Workers; Michael Wood, National Student Association; the Rev. Sloane Coffin Jr., chaplain, Yale University; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University. Mentioned as members of the group's national council last week: Julian Bond (SNCC); Simon Casady, past president of the California Democratic Council; Paul Booth, national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society; Dr. Benjamin Spock, co-chairman of SANE; Stokely Carmichael, now head of SNCC.

● Should civil rights groups be allowed to picket private homes of public officials? Writing in the **Northwestern University Law Review**, Prof. Alfred Kamin of Loyola Law School argues that the 1st Amendment does not guarantee residential picketing under protection of freedom of speech. Such picketing, he insists, is not a conventional way of expressing grievances, but an instrument for achieving "political results by oppressing and harassing the official and his family." Nine states have prohibited residential picketing and it has never been upheld in any reported American case, Kamin insists.

● With Medicare going into operation July 1, even liberals are becoming concerned about its obvious high cost. Liberal Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee were reportedly alarmed when they discovered that New York, using a special feature of the Medicare package passed by Congress, plans to tap the federal government for $220 million to support a state health plan for the elderly. The federal government will now be spending as much to support New York's health program as it originally planned to spend in support of all state programs for the elderly.

● Ninety-two free world ships, 36 of them British, visited Cuban ports during the first four months of this year and at least 10 others, seven of them British, entered North Viet Nam. The figures were provided by the Federal Maritime Commission in response to an inquiry.

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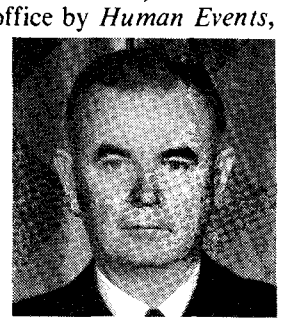
Will Brennan Keep Tigar?

Supreme Court Justice William Brennan, as a result of information relayed to his office by *Human Events*, is digging deeper into the background of Michael Tigar, a graduate of Boalt Law School in Berkeley who is coming to Washington to work as Brennan's law clerk. Tigar, who has a long string of radical associations and has written for Communist publications, was recommended for his job by the Boalt faculty. Brennan, according to his office, was not fully informed of Tigar's activities by the law school when he approved of Tigar's selection.



BRENNAN

The story on Tigar's background in *Human Events* (see the June 25 issue, page 3) has not only concerned Brennan but a number of congressmen who are raising questions about Tigar's new position with the High Court. Rep. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.), for one, has written Brennan a letter of inquiry.

Few lawmakers believe Tigar should be penalized for his political views, per se, but many think his close association with Communists, fellow-travelers and front groups should disqualify him for an influential Supreme Court clerkship.

William H. Rehnquist, a former law clerk to the late Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, has cited the important influence of clerks on each justice. The clerks, says Rehnquist, prepare the facts of certain cases, the law as declared by lower courts and a brief summary of previous cases involving the same court. The clerks even make recommendations as to whether a petition of *certiorari* should be granted or denied.

"Any subordinate who briefs his superior," says Rehnquist, "is bound to have or acquire ideas of his own regarding the matters briefed. Unless each of the nine justices is to be utterly without professional assistance, the court, like many other institutions, is bound to be exposed to the risk of such subordinate bias. . . .

"Most of the clerks are recent honor graduates of law schools and, as might be expected, are an intellectually high-spirited group. Some of them are imbued with deeply held notions about right and wrong in various fields of the law, and some in their youthful exuberance permit their notions to engender a cynical disrespect for the capabilities of anyone, including justices, who may disagree with them. . . ."

Hence, the rising concern over Justice Brennan's new law clerk.

Reagan's Washington Premiere

As reported in these columns last week, even the capital's usually hard-shelled journalists were much impressed with Ronald Reagan when he came to Washington two weeks ago. Typical of much of the press reaction were these comments from the New York *Daily News'* Ted Lewis. Reporting on Reagan's appearance before the National Press Club, Lewis said:

"Until today, the idea that Reagan, a movie actor, could be the answer to GOP prayers for a bright new personality looking toward presidential 1968 had been scoffed at as ridiculous in this cynical and blase center of national politics. Now the experts are not so sure. . . .

"[Reagan] was impressive in handling needling questions, so dexterous and charming, in fact, that when he was all through, even the fact that he used to be a Democrat seemed plausible. . . .

"Reagan is definitely and obviously the Republican man-of-the-moment. His amazingly one-sided victory in the June 7 state party primary, plus the comparatively poor showing of Gov. Pat Brown in the Democratic contest, has made him a slight favorite to be elected governor in November.

"Should he win election, Reagan will be without doubt California's favorite son for the GOP presidential nomination in 1968. As California is now the biggest population state, its electoral vote is highly significant to the White House aspirations of any candidate.

"Moreover, in the personality of Reagan there is exactly the sort of political appeal that kingmakers constantly seek. He is deeply serious about the need for a change. He has a happy sense of humor. He is a family man, yet, like John F. Kennedy, drives the teen-agers to crazy leaping and squealing. . . ."

LBJ's Big Blackjack

Lawmakers in the Capitol, cynical through experience, are still somewhat taken aback by the Administration's unabashed karate techniques when it comes to jamming legislation through Congress. Latest example: An Administration-backed bill

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

authorizing $1.6 billion to construct two dams in the Grand Canyon.

A chief complaint of congressmen is not the bill itself, but the high-handed methods used to get it on the books.

Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, who supports the legislation, has silenced several agencies in his department which are dead set against the measure. Moreover, the Reclamation Bureau, a part of the Interior Department, has been shamelessly lobbying for the bill with public money.

Yet this isn't all. The Sierra Club, a conservationist group, recently took out two newspaper ads calling for contributions to fight this Colorado River Basin Act. Rep. Morris K. Udall (D.-Ariz.), brother of Stewart and principal sponsor of the legislation, immediately fired off a letter to the IRS to ask about the group's tax deductible status.

Within 24 hours after taking out the ads, the Sierra Club received a hand-delivered letter declaring that the IRS is "no longer prepared to extend advance assurance of deductibility of contributions to the club."

The urgency with which the IRS moved was breathtaking. Initially describing the action as "routine," an IRS spokesman later sheepishly confessed that "I'm afraid this is the first time in recent times that this has been done."

Summing up the reaction of a number of outraged lawmakers, the New York *Times* editorialized:

"The Internal Revenue Service has introduced a new procedure for tax-exempt organizations that raises serious questions of fairness and administrative due process. The Sierra Club . . . is the first organization to run afoul of this regulation; but its implications are significant and ominous for many other nonprofit educational, scientific and conservationist groups throughout the nation. . . .

"Under the law, an organization cannot enjoy tax-exempt status if it devotes a 'substantial' portion of its efforts and income to politics or lobbying, but the IRS has no standard definition of 'substantial.'

"The practical result of the IRS action will be to put an end to most contributions to the Sierra Club until its tax-exempt status is re-confirmed, if ever. This is a new and thoroughly unfair procedure, comparable to inflicting punishment before guilt is established.

"Tax exemption is undoubtedly a privilege. But it is a life-giving privilege that once granted should not, in effect, be suspended for an indefinite period of time at the discretion of an administrative officer prior to any investigation or hearing.

"Any organization concerned with live public issues could be similarly curbed by the threatened loss of tax exemption. . . .

"The Internal Revenue's attempt to restrict the club is a gratuitous intervention in this controversy . . . [and] . . . looks suspiciously like harassment and intimidation."

The glaring political nature of the act is further revealed by the fact that the IRS has failed to move against such tax-deductible groups as the National Council of Churches, the National Student Association, the Fund for the Republic and countless other liberal-left organizations.

The reason? These organizations ceaselessly lobby for "Great Society" goals. The IRS, in short, is no longer just a bureau dealing with taxes, but a lethal legislative blackjack wielded by LBJ and his friends.

The Faisal Snub

Diplomatic Row is aghast at the treatment given Saudi Arabia's King Faisal by New York City officials last week. Mayor John Lindsay was to have given an official dinner for the king, but cancelled it at the last minute because Faisal had said, in reply to a reporter's question about Jews aiding Israel, "We consider those who provide assistance to our enemy as our own enemy."

Granted that Faisal could have been more careful about the phrasing of his remarks, the fact remains that the pro-Western and anti-Communist monarch was a guest of the United States government. (Indeed, he later met with U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, no enemy of Israel.) Observers feel Lindsay's ploy was simply a grandstand act to impress New York City's Jewish voters. (Former Mayor Robert Wagner did essentially the same thing back in 1957 when Faisal's brother King Saud visited this country). Gov. Nelson Rockefeller also cancelled a meeting with Faisal. (Rocky, however, did not see fit to sell his large holdings in oil companies which have heavy investments in Faisal's country.)

Even liberal papers which normally jump at the first hint of possible anti-Semitism attacked the New York officials. The New York *Times* scolded Lindsay and Rockefeller, saying, "His [Faisal's] comments were shocking, but so was the rudeness of mayor and governor in refusing—under pressure—to discharge their public duty to receive a head of state."

The Washington Post roasted the New Yorkers in an editorial: "New York City officials are behaving like a bunch of geese. . . . This is the sort of political panic reaction that caters to the supposed emotional response of a particular group of voters at the expense of the national interest."

The *Post* also pointed out: "King Faisal did not volunteer his remark. It was in reply to a maladroitly phrased question. The King went on to say that it had never been Saudi Arabia's aim to exterminate Israel or drive her into the sea. His people, he said, had always recognized the Jews of Palestine as co-citizens with the Arabs; their quarrel was with what they regarded as a Zionist take-over in violation of human rights. This was altogether consistent with Faisal's known position before he came to the United States."

The *Post* concluded by saying, ". . . it is about time for politicians to start looking upon their constituents as Americans rather than as representatives of special ethnic interests."

Correction

• *In* Human Events *last week we mentioned, in passing, that a superintendent of schools in Castro Valley, Calif., had recently been recalled by the voters. Edward Newman, the man recalled, was actually head of the Board of Education of Castro Valley.* Human Events *regrets any confusion the error may have caused.*

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Romney Irks the Pros

In making his bid for the 1968 GOP nomination, Michigan Gov. George Romney has irritated party pros by his methods of rounding up support for his candidacy.

The most recent case in point: Romney's role in Maine's Republican gubernatorial primary between liberal Gov. John Reed and the more conservative state representative, James Erwin. Reed won handily with Romney's support. A one-minute spot announcement on Connecticut television showed Romney praising Reed as a "progressive" and "productive" governor.

Erwin sent off a fiery telegram to Romney during the campaign: "By what logic do you explain your arrogance in supporting John H. Reed in a Republican primary in the state of Maine?

"If I'm nominated and elected, do you really think you've made it easy for us to cooperate after your unprecedented interference in a primary election which is none of your business?"

Maine politicos and papers, even those for Reed, were angered. The *Press-Herald* in Portland blasted Romney when he protested that his television appearance wasn't really an "endorsement" but only a "testimonial."

This is "sheer political flim-flammery . . . " barked the *Press-Herald*, "and it has nothing to do with the question of whether or not John Reed has been a capable Maine governor the past seven years. The issue, as Rep. Erwin stresses, is Romney's presumption in butting into Maine Republican party politics, and if history provides a precedent it escapes us."

Real reason for Romney's interference, say politicos, is that he wanted to butter up Reed, who was elected chairman of the National Governors Conference last year without Romney's backing. (Reed was actually put over by the support of the Democrats.) Romney, in a kiss-and-make-up mood with the presidency at stake, knows that Reed is in an influential position to aid his candidacy.

Bobby's Newest Sidekicks

In his compulsive campaign for the presidency, Bobby Kennedy has taken on a pair of advisers with highly radical views: Richard N. Goodwin and Frank Mankiewicz. Goodwin, the free-wheeling former White House adviser who recently accompanied Bobby to South Africa, has helped enlist left-wing students behind LBJ's "Great Society"; he thinks the way to bring peace to Viet Nam is to stop bombing the north. In his recent book, *Reflections on Viet Nam*, Goodwin comes close to embracing Ho's demands for a settlement, indicates we should start negotiating with the Reds and strongly suggests he disagrees with the belief that you must "punish your enemy or break his will" to resist.

GOODWIN

Goodwin, however, is a comparative moderate in relation to Bobby's new press assistant, Frank Mankiewicz. Mankiewicz, former Latin American regional director of the Peace Corps, brought Students for a Democratic Society leaders Carl Oglesby and Paul Booth to Washington last year to ask their advice on recruiting activists of the New Left into the Peace Corps. SDS, of course, has been leading the demonstrations against America's participation in Viet Nam and has moved so far to the left that its parent outfit, the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy, has cut off SDS funds.

On June 18 Mankiewicz stunned an audience at California State College at Los Angeles with a commencement address indirectly condemning any "toughness" LBJ has displayed in his foreign policy and glorifying the beatnik-leftists for taking to the streets.

Americans, he claimed, have "an extraordinary willingness to assign extreme and irrelevant political labels to those who want fundamental change."

Echoing left-wing sentiment, Mankiewicz said that when an underdeveloped nation seeks to establish policies which exist in the United States—such as free public schools, Medicare or civil rights—U.S. foreign policy makers view such a nation as "dangerously irresponsible, untimely, revolutionary and probably Communist." (This statement has drawn a horse laugh from anti-Communist diplomats who recall how the State Department supported both Castro and Mao Tse-tung, precisely because they were for Socialistic measures.)

Continuing his strange speech, Mankiewicz asserted that one law which emerges from the "ludicrous nature of our stance toward the world is this:

"If you call a man a 'Communist' often enough and loud enough, he will become one." (He did not cite even one example bearing out this contention.)

The Peace Corps was viewed by Mankiewicz as the nation's "only saving remnant of a commitment to [the] revolution for dignity and recognition."

He pictured the small percentage of beatnik-leftists as the "students who take seriously from the campus the ideas they have learned in the classroom, and seek to apply them to the problems of our time—poverty, discrimination, injustice."

If that "slice of campus society which takes ideas seriously and is willing to conduct its policies in the streets of the nation and the world can strengthen and grow," he said, "then there is a chance—a narrow chance but one worth trying—that the ancient revolutionary ideas that are the basis of our society can once again inspire and light the world."

Auto Bill Needs Brakes

Some legislative experts are privately gasping at the controls locked into the Administration bill (S. 3005) on automobile safety which zipped through the Senate Commerce Committee by unanimous vote last week. A number of lawmakers are against the measure, but won't fight it publicly for fear their constitutents will think they're opposed to safety.

Many on Capitol Hill feel this bill was designed less for safety and more for controlling the automobile industry. Almost everyone admits that speeding and carelessness, not faulty automobile manufacturing, are the real reasons for accidents. Yet this bill is a blunderbuss aimed at less than one per cent of accident causes. As one senatorial assistant who worked on this legislation said: "The secretary of commerce will have control over every nut and bolt that goes into an auto should this bill pass."

Here are just some of the dangerous federal controls lurking in the Senate measure:

• The secretary of commerce has, for all practical purposes, life and death power over trucks, buses, cars, motorcycles, scooters and foreign vehicles. Any manufacturer not following the secretary's "rules" for safety may have to pay as much as $400,000 for any related series of violations.

• The secretary, in order to enforce the act, is authorized to send swarms of federal agents into any warehouse or establishment in which "motor vehicles or items of motor equipment are manufactured, or held for introduction into interstate commerce or are held after such introduction. . . ." These agents can rummage through "appropriate books, papers, records and documents relevant to determining whether such manufacturer has acted or is acting in compliance with this title and motor

Auto safety critic Ralph Nader at recent hearings.

vehicle safety standards prescribed. . . ." But who, ask some, is to determine what is "appropriate"? Will this rummaging extend to financial books?

• A dossier of automobile drivers will be compiled by the federal government under Title III of the act. This little-known provision gives the secretary the right to "establish and maintain a register containing the name of each individual reported to him by a state or political subdivision" who has been denied even a temporary license by a state or subdivision. This "register shall also contain such other information as the secretary may deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section." The secretary, in turn, can furnish his files to any state.

• The bill is so broad the secretary could revolutionize the auto industry. During the hearings, proponents of the bill revealed the government, under this bill, could eliminate metal ash trays and cigarette lighters. Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.), a big promoter of the bill, suggested the government would ban the Volkswagen. "I suppose it is unfair to mention cars," said Ribicoff, "but the Volkswagen happens to be one of the most unsafe cars in the world. Basically, I would say today, under the standards that are being contemplated, unless the Volkswagen changes, the Volkswagen won't be able to be sold in the United States. . . ." Shapes and sizes of vehicles could also be changed. Ribicoff and others revealed that they thought small cars in general were unsafe because they could be demolished in accidents.

Such are the sweeping powers granted to the government under this bill now marching through Congress.

Lindsay Backs Kennedyite

GOP presidential hopeful John V. Lindsay, currently the mayor of New York, continues trying to transform the Republican party into a carbon copy of the Americans for Democratic Action.

In New York's 29th Congressional District, for example, Lindsay and his chief aide, Bob Price, have swung their weight in the primary behind Daniel E. Button, a former Democrat turned Independent who in 1964 backed Lyndon Johnson for President and Bobby Kennedy for senator. (Newsmen have heard Button say that Bobby is a personal friend of his.)

Button's opponent is John Meader, an assistant attorney general with the Department of Law in New York state. He received Conservative party support in 1964 when he ran for Congress on the Republican ticket and has been an active participant in the Young Republicans. But Lindsay doesn't want such a regular Republican around.

Button, who recently resigned as executive editor of the Hearst-owned Albany *Times Union*, is taking a Democratic line in the primary, advocating big federal spending programs and a soft policy for Viet Nam. While Button was its executive editor, the *Times Union* supported Democratic candidates, including Leo O'Brien, the 29th Congressional District representative who is retiring this year.

Button is still not an enrolled Republican today. Records reveal that he was a registered Democrat until 1959; then he became an Independent. He tried to enroll as a Republican on May 12, 1966, but filed improperly. Button's own camp admits he won't be able to vote in the June 28th primary.

Moreover, Albany politicos vividly recall an incident that occurred in 1964 which showed Button's contempt for the GOP. The Albany County Republican Committee sent out a mailing asking both Republicans and Independents to attend a fund-raising dinner for then Sen. Kenneth Keating.

Button, say members of the county organization, replied by saying he was not a Republican and requested the GOP to remove him from any mailing lists.

Such is the Lindsay-Price candidate for Congress.

• One big reason the Lindsay machine likes Button: he did a puff piece for the mayor for the purpose of boosting Lindsay's presidential hopes. The book penned by Button goes under the portentous title: *A Man for Tomorrow*.

Mischievous IDA

• The beleaguered taxpayer has been taken again, this time by the Institute for Defense Analysis, an Arlington, Va., research firm that has during the past 10 years received $73.2 million from the Pentagon for studies pushing arms control and disarmament. So discovered investigators for the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee headed by Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.). In a report released last week, Mahon said that Pentagon officials were guilty of "considerable laxness" in administering contacts with the IDA. The probers report that IDA officials are receiving exhorbitant salaries and expense accounts at taxpayer expense.

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Red China's Probable U.N. Entry

Behind LBJ's Push for Long-Term Foreign Aid

From the Allen-Scott Report

The looming spectre of Red China's probable admission to the United Nations this fall is the inside reason for President Johnson's strenuous efforts to induce Congress to authorize large-scale foreign aid spending for several years.

So far, the fate of this significant shift in policy is very much up in the air.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has flatly turned it down. Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman, who had previously advocated authorizing foreign aid for a five-year period, abruptly reversed himself and insisted it be limited to the traditional one year.

The President has had better luck in the House Foreign Affairs Committee—thanks to Rep. Thomas Morgan (D.-Pa.), chairman. He prevailed on the committee to approve a two-year program.

How these varying measures will fare in the Senate and House remains to be seen. The chambers usually follow the recommendations of their committees. If that occurs, the result will be a deadlock that will have to go to conference—which may or may not work out an acceptable compromise.

Such a dispute between the Senate and House could drag on for weeks. It's loaded with political dynamite; this is a stormy election year and both sides may figure they can garner votes by standing pat.

To what extent the rank-and-file among the legislators are aware of Red China's key role in this controversy is questionable. But top House and Senate Democratic leaders are fully cognizant because they participated in the inner White House deliberations that decided on this strategy.

There was a series of these sessions presided over by the President, and attended by Secretary Rusk, Speaker McCormack, Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield and Rep. Morgan.

However, Sen. Fulbright was not invited. Instead, he was later "briefed" by Mansfield.

President Johnson told the legislative leaders that Red China's admission to the United Nations is "virtually certain" at the General Assembly session that convenes in September.

That's the opinion of U.N. Ambassador Goldberg on the basis of a poll he has made of the delegates. Included in this count were the 20-odd countries that abstained from voting last year when the General Assembly tied 47 to 47—and under U.N. rules Peking's bid was rejected.

But Goldberg has informed the President the outlook now strongly favors admission. As a consequence, the President advised the legislative leaders he has ordered a review of U.S. policy to determine the following:

- Whether the United States should continue to vigorously oppose the seating of Red China.
- In the event of Peking's admission, what course the United States should pursue concerning Nationalist China's position in the United Nations.
- What steps should be taken to prepare Congress and the public for Red Chinese membership in the United Nations.

The President made it clear to the congressional leaders that he will do his utmost to resist any attempt to withdraw the United States from the United Nations should Red China be admitted.

Speaker McCormack expressed belief that "if the House remains Democratic," such a move would be defeated. However, he warned it would be touch-and-go on the outcome over demands for elimination of funds for U. N. agencies. Some $170 million is earmarked for that in the foreign aid budget now pending in Congress.

"The struggle over funds for the United Nations would be certain to be extremely close if the war in Viet Nam is still raging with Red China supporting North Viet Nam," said McCormack.

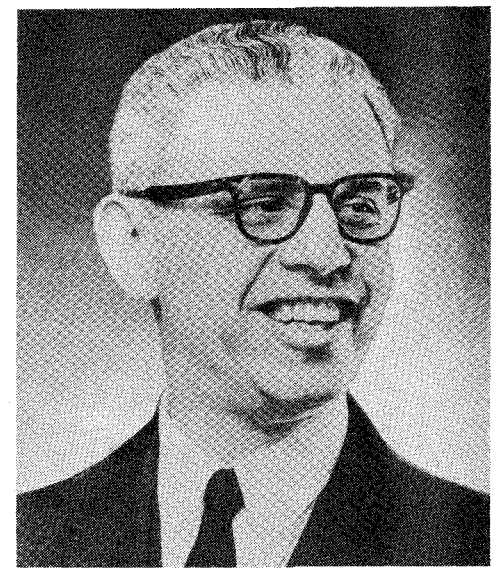
Senate Democratic Leader Mansfield fully agreed with that view.

Secretary Rusk argued this likelihood made it all the more necessary that foreign aid authorizations be voted for several or more years. He stressed this would put the Administration in a stronger position in the new Congress to resist opposition proposals aimed at the United Nations and the foreign aid program.

★ ★ ★

The militant W.E.B. DuBois Clubs are setting the stage to expand their leftist agitational operations from college campuses to big city slums.

Accused of being Communist-led by the Justice Department in a report to the Subversive Activities Control Board, the DuBois Clubs are planning to establish chapters among Negro and Puerto Rican youths in depressed urban areas.



Ambassador Arthur Goldberg told President Johnson recently that seating of Red China in the United Nations was "virtually certain," according to a poll of the U.N. delegates.

A memorandum circulating among club leaders lists principal issues on which such members can be recruited as jobs, housing, education, civil rights, the Viet Nam war and "police brutality."

This grandiose scheme was a major topic of consideration at the DuBois Club's second annual convention in Chicago the weekend of June 18th. Approximately 500 leftists and fellow travelers were slated to attend "to elect new officers and project positions and programs that will be tools for expanding our membership and influence."

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SEN. HUGH SCOTT (R.-Pa.) has accused the Johnson Administration of paying "fat salaries to Democratic politicians under the poverty program" but failing to hold down meat prices for the American housewife. Scott cited an Associated Press survey that disclosed the public is paying 21.5 per cent more per pound for hamburger, bacon, pork chops and other meats than it did in 1965. In addition to the price of meats, Scott added, the cost of lettuce, peas, spinach, cabbage and other vegetables has soared.

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LBJ AND ECONOMY—When it comes to the future of the economy, LBJ says he's not worried. Which is part of the problem.

A Nation of Bobby Bakers?

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

A report from the University of Wisconsin that 22 per cent of students in a philosophy of education course cheated on a test is surprising only because the percentage of dishonesty is markedly lower than the national average, as indicated by recent surveys.

Last year, a Columbia University study, based on interviews with 6,000 students on 99 college campuses, showed that at least half the students "have engaged in some form of cheating"—and added that the estimate was "probably conservative." Cheating is similarly widespread among high school students.

Why do they do it? Excessive workloads, premium on marks rather than learning, tolerant attitude, lack of home grounding in the elements of basic honesty, and the fact that cheating is easy—all share in the blame.

Learning has no value unless pursued for its own sake. Knowledge, like virtue, is its own reward. Cheating, like any other vice, is its own punishment—it harms the cheater most, and defeats the purpose of education.

But boys and girls become aware almost from kindergarten that premiums are placed on grades rather than achievement. They are encouraged to study for the sake of marks, to get good marks to get into college, to go to college to enhance their "earning power."

The goal of education is understanding, not committing data to memory. Tests should not be designed to encourage cheating; they should measure the degree of understanding, not the mere ability to recite a collection of facts, parrot-fashion.

Classroom cheating, taken increasingly for granted as a part of contemporary student culture, breeds a general disregard for moral values that carries over into other areas of living.

Is it any wonder that cheating in all forms is rampant in our society, from top to bottom? Is it any wonder that we have fixed contests and rigged quiz shows on radio and television, influence peddling in government, featherbedding in unions, fraudulent merchandising and tax cheating, padded expense accounts, lying by public officials, crime-coddling by the courts?

By today's standards, too often the honest politician is one who, when he is bought, stays bought. Are our schools breeding a generation of Bobby Bakers and Billy Sol Estes?

Which came first, the chicken or the egg, is irrelevant. Whether adult delinquency is traceable to juvenile transgressions or adult example is at fault for youthful misbehavior is beside the point.

Each feeds on the other, and both stem ultimately from failure of the home environment to inculcate sound moral standards.

When the progressive moral letdown gains momentum daily, it corrupts personal character and relationships, threatening the national economic and political stability. As a national advertiser put it a year or so back: "Something more precious than gold is flowing out of this country."

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Viet Nam 'Peace' Plans

U Thant's Strange Ideas of 'Give and Take'

By ALICE WIDENER

Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations has set forth his own plan for halting the war in Viet Nam. He says he feels very strongly that "without the spirit of give and take" on the part of the parties concerned, there will be no negotiations. But U Thant's idea of give and take seems to be mostly give to the North Vietnamese aggressors and take from the South Vietnamese and American defenders.

The U.N. secretary general calls for three steps toward peace in Viet Nam: (1) The cessation of U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam; (2) a scaling down of all military activities in South Viet Nam; and (3) discussion among "all sides," meaning with the Viet Cong National Liberation Front too.

It is astonishing that at this late date—after the United States has twice halted the bombing of North Viet Nam to no avail—the secretary general should propose such a halt by us as the indispensable first step toward negotiations leading to peace.

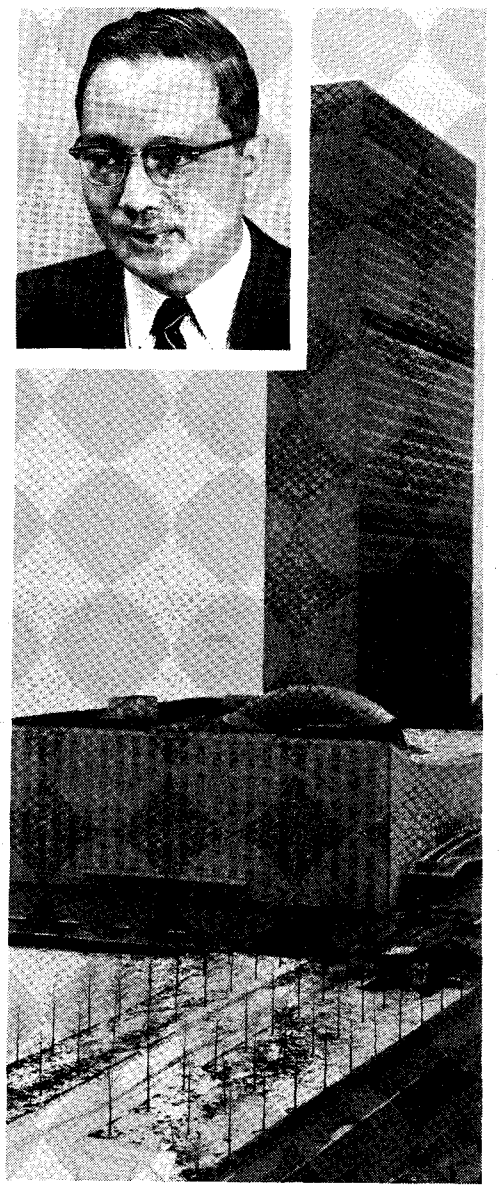
One would think U Thant would pay at least some slight attention to the repeated statements of fact made by President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Both have informed us that Hanoi wasn't at all interested in "getting the message" of peace when we stopped bombing North Viet Nam. In addition, our top military men have informed us that Hanoi derived considerable military and psychological advantage through our halts in the bombing.

What does Secretary General Thant mean by "the scaling down of all military activities" in South Viet Nam? Why didn't he suggest that if the United States were to stop bombing North Viet Nam, it should simultaneously withdraw its regular army forces from South Viet Nam? Obviously, there is no *quid pro quo* for the United States in the U.N. secretary general's proposals.

His third proposed step is tantamount to U.S. recognition of the Viet Cong as a regular instead of guerrilla army. If the United States were to extend such recognition, then poor Viet Nam would not only be divided officially between north and south, but the south itself would be divided officially. In such a situation, how could peace be assured in Viet Nam and how could it ever be unified?

The head of the United Nations is not supposed to take sides in an international dispute. But ever since we became involved in a shooting war in Viet Nam, U Thant has shown bias in favor of the North Vietnamese, whom he never has criticized. Yet his insistence that we stop bombing North Viet Nam is in itself a criticism of our country. Moreover, Mr. Thant supports the myth that the Viet Cong are an independent fighting force instead of one controlled by Hanoi.

Recently my good friend Chesly Manly of the Chicago *Tribune* returned home from three months' assignment in Viet Nam. In reply to the question whether the Communists' reinforcements are regular North Vietnamese divisions or South Vietnamese trained in North Viet Nam, Mr. Manly explained: "They are regular North Vietnamese troops. Originally, the guerrillas of South Viet



U. N. Secretary General U Thant wants the United States to stop all bombing of North Viet Nam.

Nam were taken north, after the French left (in 1954) and were trained there. They were brought back in 1958 and 1959. The reinforcements coming in now are North Vietnamese regulars."

Chesly Manly also points out that the National Liberation Front "is a creature of the Communist party of North Viet Nam." He says the southern branch of the Communist party, called the People's Revolutionary Party, also is a creature of the Communist party of North Viet Nam.

Actually, then, U Thant's proposed first step toward peace negotiations in Viet Nam is nothing more than a suggestion that the United States give North Viet Nam a free hand to send all the regular troops it wants into South Viet Nam, and to give North Viet Nam assurance of inviolability while it violates South Viet Nam, militarily and politically.

U.N. Secretary General Thant's notion of a fair give-and-take plan for bringing about negotiations to end the war in Viet Nam is typical of the kind of thinking prevalent at the United Nations since its inception. Uncle Sam generally is regarded there as Mr. Give who should take it from anyone wanting to pick his pocket or push him around.

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Courage of Their Convictions

Three De Pauw University trustees resign over decision to seek federal aid.

By ROBERT E. SHAW, Editor, Dixon (Ill.) *Evening Telegraph*

Our hats are off to the three men who quit as trustees at De Pauw University in Greencastle, Ind. The board of this school voted a month ago to accept a federal grant to help construct a new science building. Their resignation was revealed on June 3.

The three courageous men, all prominent figures in our country, are Eugene S. Pulliam, publisher of the Indianapolis *Star* and other papers, William D. Maxwell, editor of the Chicago *Tribune* and Ernest M. Sims of Elkhart, Ind. We know that Mr. Pulliam and Don Maxwell are both loyal graduates of De Pauw and have contributed greatly over the years they have been on the board.

Pulliam and Maxwell resigned orally the day the board made the decision to seek federal aid for this great private school. This is the first time in the school's history they have asked for aid. The board refused their resignations but they each resigned by letter at a later date. Mr. Sims also resigned by letter.

The controversy was over the request of the school to seek $1.3 million of federal funds toward a $4-million building. The men who resigned oppose federal aid to education in principle because they believe it will eventually lead to federal control of curriculum.

Eugene Pulliam stated that he believed the board "had been led down the gilded path" by Dr. Kerstetter who seems far more interested in getting more and more students for De Pauw than in maintaining the ideals and principles which have made De Pauw one of the great independent colleges.

Pulliam also asked Bernard Kilgore, president of the board, "How can you sit in the *Wall Street Journal* office and write an editorial opposing federal aid and then preside at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of De Pauw University and take exactly the opposite view?"

Don Maxwell wrote Kilgore he believed the board "made a grave error by taking tax money for a campus building." He said in view of the decision, "If I remain on the board I am being inconsistent with the editorial views we express daily in the *Tribune*."

Pulliam also said in his letter of resignation to Kilgore "If De Pauw could survive four wars and five depressions without going to the government for help, why now, at the height of national prosperity, would we get down on our knees and beg Uncle Sam for a handout? Taking that first million dollars from the government will be like taking the first shot of heroin."

Dr. W. E. Kerstetter, president of De Pauw, said the university regrets the resignations and added: "We esteem these men very highly. These are men of great stature. We wish they would stay with us." Bernard Kilgore of New York, president of the De Pauw board,

Newspaper publisher Eugene Pulliam resigned, saying the school "had been led down the gilded path."

said he hoped the three would reconsider their decisions.

We have a suggestion for both Dr. Kerstetter and Mr. Kilgore. Why don't they reconsider the De Pauw board's action and rescind the decision to beg money from the government and make it possible for the three fine trustees, Mr. Pulliam, Mr. Maxwell, and Mr. Sims to reconsider and rejoin the board?

If our memory serves us right, the president of Rockford College, in our good neighbor city to the north, refused a government grant and for the same reasons given by these three good citizens of our country.

This action by the De Pauw board is a bad omen for this school that for so many, many years has been one of our country's fine independent schools of learning. If they are going to start on the downgrade, they will have no one to thank but themselves.

What our country needs instead of more handouts is more Pulliams, Maxwells and Sims.

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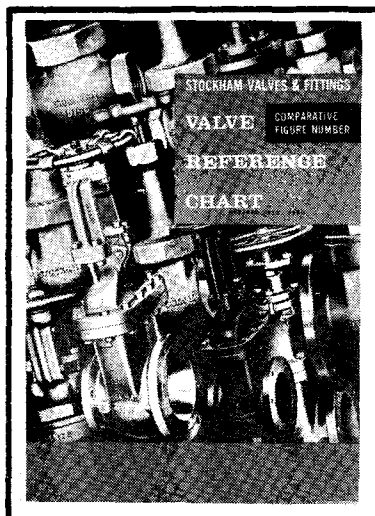
"GREAT SOCIETY" CONCEPT—A top Administration official has predicted a "revolution" in government policy toward the poor in the next 20 years. Wilbur Cohen, under secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, endorsed a guaranteed annual wage for all Americans. "The concept of the 'Great Society' has emerged as one of the great social and political thrusts of our nation's history," he said.



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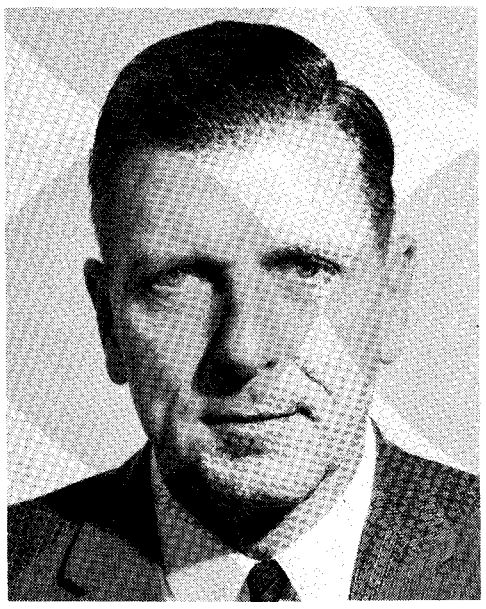

White House consumer consultant Esther Peterson, left, would like to make supermarkets locate in low-profit areas but National Food Marketing Commission Chairman George Brandow would not go along.

Commission Clears Supermarkets Of Charge They Exploit Poor

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Not so long ago, everyone imagined that the businessman's job was to perform a service for a profit. It appeared that the most worthwhile function he had was to aim for that profit—for in doing so the community would find that its basic needs were met. But recent attacks on supermarket chains show how far new ideas of social control are sapping the free society.

Recently, the National Food Marketing Commission released the results of a study comparing food prices in rich and poor neighborhoods. Now, one of the most powerful pieces of demagoguery in the hands of those agitating for "social change" is the charge that the big food chains deliberately exploit the captive poor by running prices up. The poor man may not understand the subtleties of ideology, but he does understand the price of bread.

From the very beginning of modern times, the price of food has been a particular weapon of social manipulators. In Watts last summer, the supermarkets had evidently been staked out as particular targets of plunder and arson.

And do you know what the National Food Marketing Commission found? In a survey of slum and affluent neighborhoods in six cities the commission found, to its dismay, that there wasn't a particle of truth in the charge. Supermarket chains and large independents charged prices that were almost identical no matter what the character of the neighborhood.

Plainly the commission had hoped to find the opposite; official reaction was disgruntled. In the papers, the story was twisted to fit anti-supermarket prejudices. In Washington, for example, a headline blossomed out saying "U.S. Study Finds Slum Dwellers Generally Pay More for Food."

Even though the chain stores' pricing policies were exonerated, the commission pointed to the fact that slum dwellers find it easier to shop at the small corner groceries which proliferate in slum areas. Poor people shop in these mom-and-pop stores through ignorance, resistance to change and convenience. Poverty has accustomed them to buy in small quantities: two pounds of sugar instead of five. Many face transportation problems in getting to supermarkets, which necessarily serve a broader area. If slum dwellers pay more for their food, it's because of their own problems and deficiencies.

Or so common sense would assume. But Mrs. Esther Peterson, the White House consumer consultant, doesn't think so. The failure of supermarkets to locate in high-cost slum districts she finds "disturbing to all Americans of conscience." She thinks the federal government should take steps to make large chains locate more stores in low-profit locations. Dr. George L. Brandow, the commission's director, considered her suggestion, but magnanimously found no reason to recommend legislation at this time to Congress to force chain stores to set up in special locations.

Yet even the discussion of such pros and cons is a startling reminder of freedom's decline.

When the burden of every social inadequacy has to be divided up among the total population, then we are faced with a socialization of decision far more extensive than that of old-fashioned "Socialists" who merely wanted to nationalize industry. The businessman, in his role as businessman, ought to have small concern with social values. And the idea that we all should feel a twinge of conscience because supermarkets do not seek out unprofitable locations is baloney at any price.

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MISSING INGREDIENT – Self-discipline, long an outstanding characteristic of our people, has been conspicuously absent in recent years from the American scene in government, in politics, in economics and in other facets of our traditional way of life. It is imperative that we regain and retain this vital quality of self-discipline, for in no other way can we meet and overcome the problems facing the nation today. The lack of self-discipline is reflected in virtually every aspect of American life—all the way from the rapid rise in juvenile delinquency to irresponsible government spending. It's seen in the deterioration of family life; it's seen in the schools and on college campuses; it's seen in the halls of Congress whenever self-interest supersedes the public interest. Traditionally, the American people have been realists. The colonists who settled this nation had the self-discipline to face facts as they were; they had the courage to overcome their problems. Surely, we can do no less. A self-reliant people, expressing self-discipline at home, at work, and in their community life, can achieve the good government, the sound economy, and the prosperous lives we all want. It's up to us.—From *Action in Kentucky*

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"BY LIBERTY is understood the absence of external impediments; which impediments may take away part of a man's power to do what he would, but cannot hinder him from using the power left him, according as his judgment and reason shall dictate to him."—Thomas Hobbes

Government to Blame

Time to Face the Facts On Balance of Payments

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The businessmen whom President Johnson has been blaming for much of the dollar drain have turned around and put the finger right where it belongs, on the government.

A 200-page study calling for new tactics in the balance-of-payments battle—and especially for restraints on the government itself—has been published by the International Economic Policy Association. This association speaks for a number of big companies which Mr. Johnson has punished with voluntary restraints on overseas investment.

The study comes at an opportune moment because the Administration has recently conceded—after frequent claims of victory—that its program hasn't worked. The payments deficit is almost as large as ever, and the White House is casting about for new ideas.

The suggestion that the government should look to its own policies is hardly a new idea, however. The government has been brushing it aside for years with the impatience of one who refuses to believe that he can be mistaken. We've been assured, without adequate evidence, that money spent abroad by the government tends to come back in the form of purchases, whereas private money invested abroad yields only the hope of far distant profits and can thus be forsaken with no great loss.

The present study uses Department of Commerce figures to show that the opposite is nearer the truth. These figures show that capital investment abroad yields not only future profits, but also immediate exports.

In 1964, nearly $11 billion of income from abroad was related directly to foreign business investment—more than double the amount invested that year—while only $3.4 billion was attributed to government foreign aid and military spending abroad—or less than half the amount thus spent.

The study confirms that the private sector of the economy has consistently produced a surplus in its dealings with foreign countries and that the government, in its transactions, has consistently produced a deficit.

It contradicts the frequent suggestion that private investment in the developed countries of Europe is responsible for the exchange of surplus which they have shown. Transactions with these countries have tended instead to show a surplus for the United States, the association finds. Where the Europeans have earned their surplus is not from dealings with the United States, it says, but rather through third country transactions, mainly with underdeveloped countries which spend American aid funds in Europe.

The first recommendations of the report, therefore, are that foreign aid be strictly curtailed and that instead of providing cash, we provide only goods and services for use on specifically approved projects.

Other recommendations include persuading international agencies like the World Bank to do their borrowing abroad rather than in the United States; gradually withdrawing our troops from Europe, with the possible saving of $400 million a year; encouraging more foreign tourism in this country; using special trade agreements to combat similar agreements which are used by other countries and which discriminate against our exports; and, of course, sound fiscal policies at home.

These are sensible suggestions, by and large. If adopted they will prove much more effective than anything the government has tried so far. It's time for the Administration to come off its high horse and admit that somebody else may possibly be right, for a change.

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STUPEFYING POWER—"[The power of government] covers the surface of society with a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate, to rise above the crowd. The will of man is not shattered, but softened, bent, guided; men are seldom forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting. Such a power . . . does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, until each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and hard-working animals, of which the government is the shepherd."—Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

□ □ □

"REPUBLICANISM IS NOT the phantom of a deluded imagination.—On the contrary, under no form of government are laws better supported, liberty and property better secured, or happiness more effectually dispensed to mankind."—George Washington

□ □ □

"INDIVIDUALITY IS THE AIM of political liberty. By leaving to the citizen as much freedom of action and of being as comports with order and the rights of others, the institutions render him truly a free man. He is left to pursue his means of happiness in his own manner."—James Fenimore Cooper

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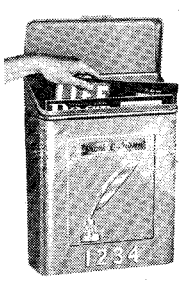

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Why Does the Free Market Have Such a Bad Press?

By PROF. MILTON FRIEDMAN

There is a striking contrast between the record of performance of the free market and the attitudes held toward the free market by both the public at large and especially by the intellectual community.

So far as I have been able to determine, the common man has experienced a sustained rise in his well-being only in societies that have used free market techniques as the primary means for organizing economic activity. This is true in the broad survey of history—of ancient Athens and Rome as well as of Britain, Scandinavia, Western Europe and the United States in the 19th and 20th Centuries. It is true around the world today: contrast West Germany with East Germany; Malaysia and Singapore with India and Indonesia; Thailand with Burma; Hong Kong, Formosa and Japan with Red China; pre-Castro and post-Castro Cuba.

Collectivism's Failures

I do not know of a single example of a predominantly collectivist and centrally planned society in which the ordinary citizen has achieved a major and sustained improvement in the conditions of his everyday life, or a real hope for the future of himself or his children—though many such a society has produced impressive monuments, ranging from the Pyramids of ancient Egypt to the steel mills and international airlines of modern Egypt, which demonstrate the power of centralized authority to wrest resources from the populace for purposes of its choosing.

To avoid misunderstanding, I hasten to add also, first, that the free market has proved only a necessary, not a sufficient, condition for a relatively high level of living for the masses, and second, that in societies that have been successful in improving the conditions of the masses, government has always played a role and sometimes an important one, though it has never been the primary source of economic organization.

Despite this impressive record of performance, the free market is under continual attack. It is scorned by the intellectuals as materialistic and chaotic, blamed for any and all bad things that occur, and regarded as at best a necessary evil which can be permitted to exist, if at all, only under close and continuing government control.

A striking example of this contrast between facts and attitudes was impressed on me some years ago when I was in Malaya. Malaya and Singapore are islands of prosperity in a sea of misery. On the one side is India, on the other side Indonesia. Both have relied on the techniques of central planning as the primary instrument to achieve economic growth. Both have failed.

In Indonesia, there has been an absolute deterioration in the condition of the people since independence; in India, at best, minuscule growth if not stagnation. The ordinary people in Malaya and Singapore have a level of living four or more times as high as the level in India or Indonesia. And this high level has been produced entirely through free market arrangements.

Singapore is a free port, and owes its prosperity to that fact. Malaya's main industries are tin and rubber. The tin mines were developed entirely by private enterprise. And rubber offers an even more striking testimonial. The rubber tree is not even native to Malaya and none grew there 70 years ago; rubber trees were imported into Malaya from South America and their cultivation developed entirely by private enterprise.

Malaysia recently became independent (and even more recently has split again). Whose policies is it imitating? It has already established a central bank and a central planning board, has begun to impose tariffs, give subsidies to particular industries, and so on. It is apparently determined to turn its back on its own past and imitate the policies of India and Indonesia! One could hardly ask for a more striking example of the problem I want to discuss in this paper.

Why is it that the free market has such a wonderful record and yet such a bad press? I have no full answer, but I should like to suggest a number of partial answers.

Milton Friedman has been a professor of economics at the University of Chicago since 1948. He is the author of many books, articles and reviews and was an adviser to Sen. Goldwater during the 1964 campaign.

Allure of Intervention

In his classic, *Lectures on the Relation Between Law and Public Opinion*, A.V. Dicey discusses this issue in terms of English experience. In the 19th Century, individualism was dominant in England and determined its policies. Simultaneously, Britain experienced its golden age—rapid economic growth at home plus an expanding world empire and unquestioned status as the world's leading power. Yet, toward the end of the 19th Century, just when it appeared that individualism was achieving everything its proponents had claimed for it, the intellectual tide turned away from individualism and toward collectivism. Why, asks Dicey, should this have been so?

One answer he gives is that the argument for intervention is simple, whereas the argument for non-intervention is subtle. If something is wrong, it is easy to argue that a law should be passed to set things right. It is more subtle to argue that such a law is likely to have indirect harmful effects that will more than offset any good done directly.

Almost all economic fallacies arise because of the neglect of indirect effects. People favor a tariff because they see that it helps a specific industry. They do not see the harm it does. Men who are out of work because of a tariff do not even know that they are out of work because of the tariff—they are the men who would have a job in the export industries that would exist in the absence of the tariff, but do not exist in its presence.

In consequence, said Dicey, in order for laissez faire to be accepted in any large measure, there must be a strong general presumption in its favor on the part of most people. Once the general presumption slackens, the pressure for specific interventions will be irresistible.

In a way, the interesting question is not why the tide shifted from individualism to collectivism, but how there ever developed a general faith in individualism. That is the rare event in history. Dicey's point is surely part of the answer to our query, but it can hardly be a complete answer.

Producer vs. Consumer

Wesley Mitchell, in his famous essay on "The Backward Art of Spending Money," emphasized another fact that I think is also an important part of the answer. That is the asymmetry between our interests as producers and as consumers. As consumers, we consume a million and one things, and seldom have a concentrated interest in any one. As producers, our interests tend to be concentrated; we get most of our livelihood from one activity or occupation. Therefore, we tend to be much more single-minded in promoting our interests as producers than as consumers. We may get temporarily worked up over a particular issue and join forces to pass a law, but once the law is passed, as consumers we forget about it and go back to our personal concerns.

But the producers do not forget. They are perennially active, and will generally manage to turn the law to their own purposes. An excellent example in American experience is the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was established in the late 19th Century supposedly to protect consumers of railroad services from exploitation by the monopolistic railroads. Very shortly the commission came under the domination of the railroads and has been used ever since as a device for strengthening monopoly power and protecting the railroads from the competition of trucking, barges and so on.

Two other characteristics of human beings reinforce the asymmetry between the interests of men as producers and as consumers in fostering government intervention and an unfavorable attitude toward the market: our tendency to regard anything favorable that occurs as no more than our just due, but anything unfavorable as the result of other peoples' malevolence, and our capacity to rationalize.

The first leads us to take credit personally for the good things that happen rather than to give credit to general institutional arrangements such as the market and also to be only too ready to demand a "law" when anything bad happens.

The second enables us to persuade ourselves that the law we think we need for our own interests is also in the social interest, and so to summon sincerity and benevolence in its support. "What is good for General Motors" may be "good for the United States"—and indeed generally will be when the law does not interfere with the free market's invisible hand. But it seldom will be when the "good" is to be achieved by legislation that gives special treatment to the automobile industry.

Yet the tendency to rationalize on these lines is well-nigh universal. I have often heard my academic colleagues berate businessmen for their hypocrisy and special pleading when they ask Congress for tariffs or other similar measures and claim that they ask it for the "general interest." Yet these same colleagues do not even see the humor when in the next breath they plead for greater subsidies from Congress for higher education—they *know* they are promoting the "general interest."

No Press Agents

A third, and in my opinion, very important reason why the free market has such a bad press is that it has no press agent.

An unimportant yet illuminating example is a small item about the shortage of small coins in the United States that I came across recently in the *Wall Street Journal*, which of all papers one might expect to be a press agent for a free market. It stated that the U.S. Treasury Department was greatly expanding its production of coins, that it was increasing the number of presses at the mints, and that it had asked Congress to legalize its putting the same date on coins for two years in a row to discourage numismatists and speculators.

The newspaper item then went on to say that some private concerns were "taking advantage"—these were its words—"of the coin shortage by accumulating coins and selling them at premium."

Correctly written, that story might well have been as follows: "The U.S. Treasury Department, which has a monopoly on producing a product that it sells at many times its cost, has been so inefficient that it has not produced the amount demanded, even though it could have made a sizable profit by doing so. The harmful effects of the shortage produced by the inefficiency of the government mints have been somewhat mitigated by the free market. Private enterprises have been accumulating coins and selling them at a premium. The market price for this service is 5 per cent." The impression given would certainly have been very different; yet the second statement is correct.

This is not an isolated example. There are always government officials who give out press handouts to glorify the agencies they represent or to take credit for what occurs. There is no agent who gives out handouts about the anonymous workings of the free market, and no group that has a strong personal interest in hiring such press agents. And who can blame the harried newspaper reporter who takes advantage of the official story?

Where government or private monopoly exists, there is both more "news" generated and more press agents to give it shape than where competition reigns. We all know in the United States about strikes in the steel industry, the unions that call them, the interventions by Washington and so on. Who knows about the nonexistent union of domestic servants which presumably is responsible for the very rapid rise in the wages of domestic servants in the past decade?

The absence of press agents for the market cannot be the whole reason why the market has such a bad press, but I do believe it is an important one.

Role of Intellectuals

It has often seemed to me that the two greatest enemies of the free market are businessmen and intellectuals, for opposite reasons. The businessman is always in favor of free enterprise—for everybody else; he is always opposed to it for himself.

The intellectual is quite different; he is always in favor of free enterprise for himself, always opposed to it for everybody else. The businessman wants his special tariff or his special governmental commission to interfere with free enterprise, in the name, of course, of free enterprise. The intellectual, too,

Continued on page 14

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RACES of the WEEK

With this issue, *Human Events* inaugurates a regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. For each week until Election Day, November 8, *Human Events* will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Ohio's 17th District

Ashbrook vs. Secrest

A public relations man by the name of Harold Evry has built a considerable reputation in recent years by running the successful campaigns of congressmen and legislators throughout the nation. Evry extracts from congressional hopefuls a minimum fee of $20,000 and the promise they will not deviate from what he terms "the formula."

The candidates must never speak on issues. They must avoid mention of their opponents. They must pass up those meetings where voters may ask their position on legislation. They must rely instead on catchy slogans and huge outlays for posters, bumper stickers, letters, TV spots, anything but speeches.

Evry claims to have elected more than 90 per cent of his clients, but Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) is trying hard to prove that an outspoken, principled candidate can also win.

Redistricting has thrown the GOP lawmaker into the same district with Rep. Bob Secrest, a veteran Democrat very much in the Evry tradition. Secrest is a personable, glad-handing politician who has repeatedly won election from the conservative heartland by convincing voters that he is a "nice guy."

Ashbrook, too, is a "nice guy" but one who has staked his political future on the fervent belief that 17th District voters care about issues. Literature from his campaign headquarters (Ashbrook for Congress Committee, Box 457, Johnstown, Ohio) does not include the pious pronouncements typical of most candidates. It gives, instead, a detailed accounting of his record and that of his opponent.

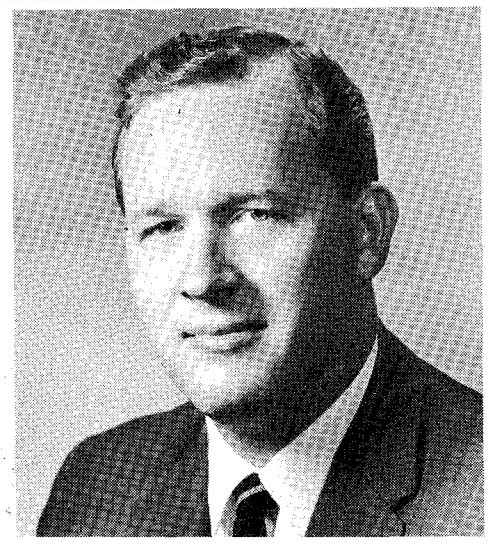
"When the smoke of campaign oratory has cleared," Ashbrook says, "there remains only one sure-fire way to judge a congressman's record and principles —his voting record."

Ashbrook cites the record. The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action give him a 98 per cent rating and Secrest a lowly 35. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education rates Ashbrook at 0 per cent, and Secrest at 95. The nation's largest farm group, the American Farm Bureau Federation, gives Ashbrook a 100 per cent voting record and Secrest one of only 9 per cent.

Almost every weekend, Ashbrook climbs into his car and drives the 600 miles to his central Ohio district (a man of modest means, he cannot afford round-trip plane fare three or four times a month). At home, Ashbrook is meeting voters from early in the morning till the wee hours of the next day. He speaks before literally thousands of audiences—union locals, farm groups, PTA's, college assemblies.

In every talk he spells out his voting record and that of Secrest, the professional "nice guy" who is campaigning on tired platitudes and political generalities. He cites specifics:

- 17th District farmers voted by more than 4 to 1 in 1963 against participation in the Administration's compulsory wheat program. Secrest supported this legislation, Asbrook opposed it.
- Secrest backed the Administration's rent supplement program, which would subsidize the incomes of individuals earning as much as $11,000. Ashbrook voted no.
- Ashbrook has repeatedly worked for drastic revision of the Administration's multi-billion-dollar "War on Poverty."



ASHBROOK

Secrest has gone down the line in opposition to proposals that would clean up the scandal-wracked program.

Ashbrook, who at 37 is seeking his fourth term, is the ranking Republican on the House Committee on Un-American Activities and fifth-ranking member of the vital House Education and Labor Committee. The 62-year-old Secrest, despite his 11 terms in Congress, is only the tenth-ranking Democrat on the comparatively unimportant Veterans Affairs Committee.

Illinois' 19th District

Railsback vs. Schisler

The Johnson landslide carried into Congress a number of political nonentities but none more obscure than Gale Schisler, an elementary school principal from London Mills, Ill. When the filing deadline passed in January 1964, no Democrat had filed for the House seat occupied by Republican Robert T. McCloskey.

Democratic leaders finally convinced Schisler, a political novice, to make the race. They nominated him by write-in vote to prevent McCloskey from winning by default. But in November when the votes were counted, Lyndon Johnson had carried the district by 27,000 votes, dragging in Schisler by a scant 7,000.

Schisler has repaid the debt. The nonpartisan *Congressional Quarterly* reported after the first session of the 89th Congress that Schisler had toed the Administration line on every issue before the House. During the second session, the former school teacher has continued to serve as an Administration flunky, taking his cue from the White House lobbyists on such issues as repeal of 14b, rent subsidies and aid to Communist nations.

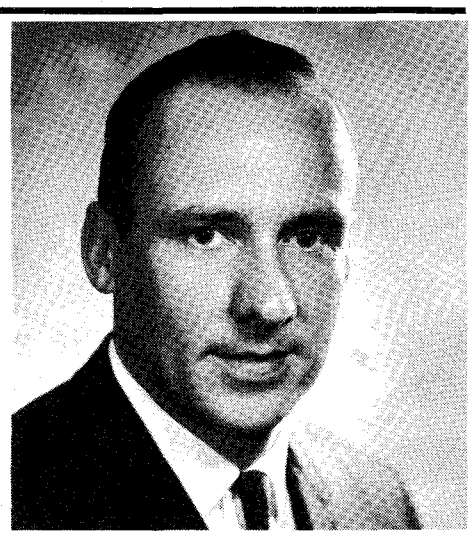
When local newspapers began chiding Schisler as a political puppet, he tried to demonstrate his "independence" by opposing the Administration bill to raise the federal debt limit. State Rep. Thomas Railsback, his GOP opponent in the upcoming campaign, noted sardonically there would be no need to raise the debt limit if Schisler and other congressional Democrats had demonstrated fiscal prudence. The Americans for Constitutional Action singled out Schisler as one of 13 free-spending congressmen who had attempted to deceive their constituents by voting against the debt hike.

If Schisler is apprehensive about the upcoming campaign he has reason to be. Republican Railsback, a 34-year-old lawyer and two-term member of the Illinois State Legislature, is a proved vote-getter. Both he and Schisler were unopposed in their respective primaries last month and Railsback outpolled his Democratic foe by nearly 2 to 1. Redistricting has added another Republican county to Schisler's district, long a GOP bastion.

Newspapers report Railsback a solid favorite to win, but the energetic young lawyer is taking no chances and is campaigning night and day. (The Railsback for Congress Committee's address is Moline National Bank, Moline, Ill.)

He is making runaway inflation and the Administration's farm policy major issues. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman is decidedly unpopular with many farmers blaming him for falling farm prices. Railsback reminds voters that Administration policies are responsible for the surging inflation that is evident in the ever-higher prices they must pay for goods and services.

Schisler maintains that Viet Nam will



RAILSBACK

not be an issue. Railsback disagrees, citing polls that show rising discontent over Administration handling of the war. "A majority of voters with whom I have talked say they cannot understand the Johnson policy in Viet Nam," Railsback reports. "They feel the Administration lacks the will to win and is depriving our fighting men of the modern weapons they need and deserve."

Idaho Senate Contest

Jordan vs. Harding

They said it couldn't be done, but Ralph Harding proved the experts wrong. The Idaho congressman managed to lose his seat in the Johnson landslide of 1964, the only Northern Democrat to be so humiliated.

Unemployed in early 1965, Harding had no trouble finding work. The Administration hired him as a special assistant to the secretary of the Air Force, gave him the simulated rank of major general and $25,000 a year.

A year later, Harding had tired of the Pentagon. He resigned his post and returned to Idaho to challenge Republican Sen. Len Jordan for reelection. Before leaving the government, however, Harding traveled to Viet Nam at taxpayer expense so that during the campaign he could claim "first hand" knowledge of the war.

Harding's comeback is bankrolled by a radical "peace" group, the Council for a Livable World. In fact, the council's executive director, Ashton Crosby, only recently returned from Idaho where he appeared on television urging Harding's election to the Senate. The former congressman has been a CLW favorite for some time.

In a letter to leftist fat-cats in July 1964, the council sought funds for Harding's reelection. Noting that he was the only House candidate to receive CLW backing, the appeal said: "The council believes it important that Ralph Harding be returned to Congress as an essential prerequisite for his future campaign for the Senate two years hence."

CLW funds have helped elect several senators. In 1962, the group poured $22,000 into South Dakota to aid the campaign of Democrat George McGovern. He won by less than 700 votes, privately credits CLW with his margin of victory. In 1964, nine council-backed candidates were elected to the Senate.

A CLW analysis says that "Sen. Jordan's record has been dismal." Idaho voters obviously disagree. They have elected him governor and senator by overwhelming margins. (Jordan for Senate Committee address: P.O. Box 2753, Boise, Idaho.)

Jordan is recognized as one of the Senate's top experts on fiscal policy, conservation and agriculture. He is a staunch conservative whose voting record is termed "100 per cent reactionary" by the leftist Americans for Democratic Action. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, which will heavily back Harding, has put Jordan on the top of its purge list. During his one term in Congress, Harding was credited by COPE with a perfect voting record.

Harding has labeled Jordan a "negativist" who time after time votes against "Great Society" programs. Jordan defends his frequent "nay" votes: "How can you be against one thing without

JORDAN

being for its antithesis? Every time I vote *against* inflation I am voting *for* sound economic principles and fiscal integrity. . . . If anyone has the urge to criticize a minority party for always being against—for always being on the negative side of the ledger—one thing can be remembered: eight of the Ten Commandments begin with the words, 'Thou shalt not. . . .'"

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Administration Stands Idly By

How Our Enemies Are Using the Panama Canal

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

While our men die in Viet Nam the Panama Canal serves the enemy mightily. But who would know it?

Have we heard one word from Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, the State Department or President Johnson about this? In fact, how fully has the President been informed about it? Blessings be, our country should stop it.

Here are the particulars:

Without exception, Fidel Castro's vessels sailing from Cuba to North Viet Nam pass through the Panama Canal. They are sometimes fully, and always partly, loaded with enemy materials for the war. Yet our American authorities usher them through. Why?

Those only partly loaded invariably follow either of two routine routes. They call at Japan, where they pick up war materials for North Viet Nam. Or they head directly for Red China, where they are loaded (and often overloaded) with weapons, explosives and all types of war gear for Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi.

While we bomb and bomb the Ho Chi Minh jungle trail to reduce his supplies, and our fliers are shot down in the process, the ships steam in and the enemy can laugh in our faces.

The ships are allowed to enter North Vietnamese ports without being challenged by the U.S. Navy patrolling those waters. They're merely seen, followed and photographed by our Air Force overhead, and that is all. Thus the Americans on the ground stop the bullets.

As long ago as last January, Capt. Francisco Daltabuit, commanding Castro's *Rio Jabacoa*, and later Capt. Ceasar Loredo of the *Camilo Cienfuegos*, both of whom left their ships and sought political asylum in Barcelona, Spain, reported all the facts officially to Washington.

They revealed the routines followed in passing through our Panama Canal; voyage times to North Viet Nam; payment procedures in Japan; the names of Japanese suppliers in Yokohama, Osaka, etc.; all details of the loading frequencies and the cargoes in Red China and the delivery at Haiphong and Hanoi.

The American people whose sons are dying in Viet Nam are being sabotaged.

The dreadful irony begins, of course, in the waters off Cuba itself. Within less than 30 days after his so-called Khrushchev "confrontation," President Kennedy inexplicably lifted the Cuban blockade, although we've never been told why to this very day. Then, even after the Soviet defaulted on our on-site missile inspection provisions, the blockade was not re-established.

Instead of blocking aid to Castro, our great Navy and Air Force defend him (free) from his anti-Red opponents and President Johnson states that we are fighting 9,000 miles away in Viet Nam "in support of freedom."

We seize the vessels of Cuban freedom fighters not only in U.S. ports but on the high seas. The latest instance occurred 45 miles from American territorial waters. Moreover, we not only bring the vessels back to Florida and impound them. On orders from Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach we usually also seize and impound the crews' private automobiles at their homes or places of work.

Meanwhile, we support the British in blockading Rhodesia and say in the same breath that we cannot stop even our allies, to say nothing of Iron Curtain ships, going to Red Cuba or Haiphong.

Defense Secretary McNamara keeps two sets of books on this trade. So long as he so constantly denies everything, I would like to hear him deny this.

Again and again Mr. McNamara (at the committee's request) has given the Senate Armed Services Committee his figures, by months, on free world vessels entering Cuba and North Viet Nam. He likewise gives these to the press.

An individual senator on the committee recently insisted something must be wrong with these "not much" figures. The senator discovered that each month, after supplying them, they had been subsequently revised upward inside Mr. McNamara's office without Mr. McNamara revealing his second (still does it) set of figures to the committee.

You are reading here the first published statement about two sets of books Mr. McNamara privately employs, admitted to the senator—when challenged—by Mr. McNamara's own executive colonel in charge of them.

In short, to put a better face on the conduct of the Viet Nam war, the Senate Armed Services Committee and the American people alike are being steadily misled in this vital subject. And now you can add to it the hush-hush facts about the Panama Canal.

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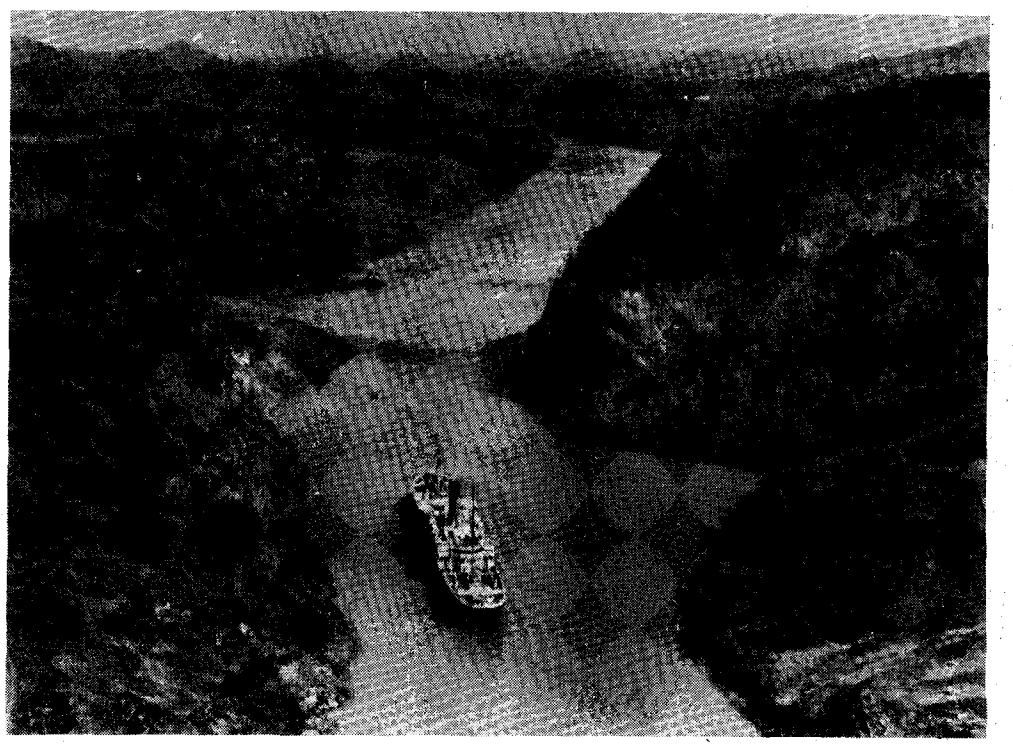

Ships of all countries use the Panama Canal, even those carrying war cargoes to North Viet Nam.

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New Liberal Proposal

Replace Capitalism with 'Community'

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

We are indebted to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions for sending along a report on a pamphlet it has recently issued, titled "Toward Community: A Criticism of Contemporary Capitalism."

The author is Richard Lichtman, who is described as a "philosopher," a member of the Center's staff, and also a member of the faculty of the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Prof. Lichtman says America's present "welfare capitalism" is a failure.

He says it has created an "unjust society." He says that "in a headlong flight from the spectre of socialism it has embraced a good deal of conservative ideology."

That, of course, is bad. Very bad. As a matter of fact, says the professor, the "current variety of capitalism which is known as welfare liberalism is ill-suited to the demands of a human society, as was its historical predecessor, laissez-faire capitalism."

So, the professor says, a new system is needed. He proposes to replace capitalism with something called "Community."

And how would "Community" operate?

In certain "areas of human concern," such as medicine, land use, communications, education and housing, Prof. Lichtman opines that:

"The most reasonable device would be a system whereby the people produced such products as it required directly through the agency of its government.

"Research centers and plants responsible to the government or to such of its agencies as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would produce for the service of the community, rather than for profit, and such products as it was publicly directed to produce with the object of superior quality, minimum cost and co-ordination of activity."

This is "Community." The professor would place almost everything that matters under the control of all-wise and benevolent commissars who would get things done better and cheaper and everybody would live happily ever after.

Some Americans who have had experience with the bureaucracy may feel that the professor is a little starry-eyed if he expects Washington to deliver "superior quality" at "lower cost." Especially the latter.

But of course such phrases, whether used by the New Left or the Old Right, should not be taken too seriously. They are simply boob-catchers. The important thing revealed by this publication is that the New Lefties are cutting away from mere welfare and do-goodism and are preparing to go all the way toward a kind of socialism that is called "Community."

The left extremists have been exceedingly influential in every administration since Franklin Roosevelt's. They have captured positions of great importance in the academic world and the communications industry, and in affairs both secular and spiritual. When they start planning their "Community," perhaps it is time for the rest of America to pay attention.

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Plan Special Cadre Training

Labor Chiefs Work to Prevent Anti-LBJ Vote

By VICTOR RIESEL

Every once in a while Lyndon Johnson gets the feeling that politics may be, after all, the art of the impossible.

The opposition may give him a rough time in the fall elections. Some union chiefs, he was told, even were considering supporting some Republicans, bolting the Democrats, taking a walk, sitting on their campaign checkbooks.

So he invited his old and good friend George Meany, Mr. Labor himself, to the White House Thursday, June 2. At about noontime the two men, who now have more seniority in Washington than virtually all other national figures, talked for 90 minutes.

According to the insiders, they talked of many things—the Soviets; a presidential trip through four European capi-

AFL-CIO President George Meany wants to assess each union member a nickel for a special election fund.

tals, Communist trade unionism, the threatening airline strike and domestic politics.

After Mr. Meany left, the President again was certain of one scientific fact—despite hundreds of news stories to the contrary, the impossible still was the impossible. Labor was not going to bolt the Johnson camp. In fact, it was going to pour on the heat for the re-election of a powerful Democratic congressional majority.

Four days later, behind the closed doors of a hotel off-the-record meeting of political representatives of 129 national unions, Mr. Meany said bluntly that this was the best Congress labor ever had, and the time had come to start working, even during the summer, for the re-election of a Democratic-liberal-labor alliance.

In effect, he said we can't carry a grudge because we lost our fight to repeal the 14b section of Taft-Hartley. Sen. Dirksen did that. Now we have to get out the manpower, the organization, the funds to prevent the Republicans from rolling up traditional mid-term gains.

Money being the root of all politics, the union chiefs voted to assess each member—and there now are 13.7 million—a nickel a head for a special fighting fund. There is significance to the nickel.

The nickel tax is assessed only during presidential election years. During the mid-term polls, the per capita political levy is three cents.

But this is an exceptional year. Labor did not get everything it wanted, but what it wants most now is to prevent a Republican victory which would be interpreted as a repudiation of the President's policies here and overseas.

In all, the special fund will total some $850,000. Then the national labor Committee on Political Education (COPE) will go into the boondocks and ask for matching funds. So there may be almost $1.5 million for intense registration.

The drive will take no holiday. It has started. On July 18 the national labor chiefs will bring many score men and women into Washington for a special three or four-day political training encampment. They'll be drawn especially from the 51 "freshmen districts" which sent young Democratic congressmen to Washington atop the tidal wave of Mr. Johnson's huge vote.

Another objective will be the smashing defeat of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in New York. His campaign for re-election will be spectacular and one of the most closely observed by the foreign press. It will be a great coup for the labor-liberal alliance to bring New York state back into the Democratic corral. This would ease things for 1968.

There are mighty few political sophisticates who do not believe that Mr. Rockefeller won't use the governorship as a platform for another effort to get the Republican presidential nomination in '68.

Mr. Rockefeller and his advisors already have started to exploit what they believe are differences between some labor forces and the President. The governor's campaign committee has provided a comfortable budget for a special Labor Committee for Rockefeller. It works quietly out of an office on the ninth floor of New York's Hotel Hilton and is planning to set up subcommittees in most New York counties.

It has some construction trades with it already.

But the politically powerful laborite Liberal party, now in coalition with Sen. Robert Kennedy, already has begun hammering at the governor.

So will other labor forces, though he has given them pretty much what they wanted out of the state legislature. But support for him, despite his methodical delivery, would interfere with their support of Democratic candidates.

Furthermore, they view him as a possible Republican presidential candidate. And taking New York state from him would be a spectacular victory.

So it will go across the land. Inside labor, it is not the year of the elephant.

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GRAVE IMPLICATIONS—The chief of Naval Operations, Rear Adm. David L. McDonald, has clashed publicly with Defense Secretary McNamara, charging that McNamara's continued opposition to a nuclear navy has "grave implications for national security." Warning that the Navy's overseas supply lines are more vulnerable than at any time in history, Adm. McDonald said that nuclear power for carrier task forces offers important advantages that "could be decisive in many situations."

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TOUCHE, MR. PRESIDENT—"As public servants we know—at least we ought to know—that the habits most in need of reform are our own."—President Lyndon B. Johnson.

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A Slogan for the 'Great Society'

By MORRIE RYSKIND

There's nothing like a catchy slogan, as any advertising agency will tell you. The best merchandise in the world will not move unless properly pushed by a seductive phrase, and even shoddy material can do business for a while with a good, quotable shibboleth.

The "Great Society" has been going along without one, and has paid the penalty by meeting with some sales resistance of late. Emulating the Good Samaritan, I spent last evening mulling over some tried-and-true adages that might help the boys out. Not too easy a task, I discovered.

"In God We Trust" had proven merit, but the odds were it would be declared unconstitutional today.

"An Apple a Day Keeps the Doctor Away" seemed non-controversial—an important consideration—but second thought made me realize it might be construed as anti-Medicare.

"Speech is Silver, Silence is Gold," looked ideal to counteract the public suspicion of not being in the Administration's confidence. But then we've been off the gold standard since FDR, and have now gone off the silver standard.

And so on. But finally I came up with one I thought described perfectly our gains from the New Deal to the present: "Out of the Frying Pan Into the Fire." A little long for a theatre marquee, I realized, but I settled for it and went to bed happily, deeming my labors not in vain.

But at 5 a.m. my subconscious, which had taken over, woke me and offered me Commodore Vanderbilt's terser "The Public Be Damned!" There, if ever, is the faultless epitome of the philosophy of the omniscient and selfless commissars currently guiding our Ship of State to the Promised Land—the one promised by the Democratic convention of 1964.

These are dedicated men, and neither snow nor rain nor heat stays them from the swift completion of their appointed rounds—except perhaps in delivering the mail. But then the postmaster-general puts in a full eight-hour day pressuring Congress for the President, and you can't have everything.

To these mental giants of the Establishment, we are disadvantaged cretins who might go sadly astray if we tried to conduct our own affairs. And, indeed, there is something to be said for that, since only cretins would have voted them into power. (Don't look at me: I was for Barry.)

So they have cheerfully assumed the burden. And now, with loving kindness but a firm hand, they diaper and spoon-feed us from the cradle to the grave. They save our money for us—and spend it, too. Not on the knickknacks we might choose for ourselves, but for the general good. Where would Tito be if he had to depend on us Joe Doakes? And Castro might be just another ex-dictator if our leaders didn't still contribute our hard-earned cash to him via the United Nations.

All of the polls—including those taken by various congressmen among their constituents—showed that the public didn't want Renticare; and the Senate, apparently, didn't want it either. But the President twisted an arm—and threw in some millions for an Alaskan project as a palliative—and Renticare passed by one vote. The public be damned!

The slogan works at local levels, too. Here in Los Angeles, the city fathers are scheduled to hold some hearings on a proposal to fluoridate the water supply. With feelings high both pro and con, the hassle may go on for two months or so.

The evening *Herald-Examiner* conducted a poll for reader opinion and the results, tabulated at the University of Southern California, showed the antis had it, 2 to 1. But if I had to bet, I'd put my money on the measure.

For, through some strange quirk, this has become a political and moral issue. The morning paper, now firmly in the Establishment camp, shrieks that the dental health of 800,000 children is at stake and lumps some highly eminent objectors with kooks who believe flouridation is a Communist plot. But omits to say there are kooks for the measure who regard all opposition as a fascist cabal.

So, comes the revolution, we'll all be fluoridated and like it. The public—and considerable damaging evidence—be damned! On to Utopia!

(Copyright 1966, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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Proposal Limiting Court's Authority

By REP. SAMUEL DEVINE (R.-Ohio)

For over 10 years the U.S. Supreme Court has been rendering landmark decisions vastly altering the foundations of what was believed to be the law of the land. The time-worn doctrine of *stare decisis*, meaning "precedent by previous decisions," apparently has gone by the boards.

The overwhelming majority of Americans are law-abiding citizens who respect authority and obey the law, even though they may disagree. However, where constitutionality is involved, the propriety of "one-man rule" of American life is being questioned more frequently. Five-to-four splits in decisions by the Supreme Court, time and again, clearly demonstrate the complete lack of unanimity if not the uncertainty of the court on key matters of law.

It seems to me where the court is called upon to rule upon constitutionality, it should be required that at least two-thirds or six of the nine justices must agree before the law of the land can be completely reversed. This, in itself, would require a constitutional amendment.

Acts of Congress are the result of long arduous hours of legislation study, testimony of witnesses, deliberation, debate, and vote by both House and Senate, as well as approval by the executive.

This process now can be and is nullified by a determination of "unconstitutional" by not more than five men, often with four dissenting.

Amending our Constitution to require a two-thirds vote before an act of Congress can be declared unconstitutional would certainly prevent capricious or emotional decisions. This does not seem burdensome to me, particularly when 12 persons on a jury are required to render unanimous decisions in order to convict one person for a violation of our criminal laws.

Decisions affecting 190 million persons might well merit a consensus of at least six out of nine justices.

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"THE WHOLE CASE for freedom rests on the impossibility of omniscience. Therefore all attempts to act as if this omniscience were attainable—e.g., in having the economy run by a central authority—are bound to end up in the loss of freedom. Our civilization is based on the spontaneous performance of individuals creating the unforeseeable, the surprising and the hitherto unknown. To insure the development of civilization one must see to it that there is freedom, which means, for the purpose of progress in civilization, freedom of that minority which will create the new."
—Prof. Frederick Hayek

Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai (at left) review a 1965 parade in Peking.

What's Afoot in Peking?

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

The campaign in Communist China against "anti-party" plotters is becoming, in Alice's words, "curiouser and curiouser." The most common explanation in the West, as exemplified in a recent Joseph Kraft column, is that it represents a struggle between the moderates and the rabidly doctrinaire members of the party.

Yet there are increasing signs that this is an oversimplified, if not actually misleading, view of what is going on. One of these signs is the general assumption that the real target of the abusive attacks on Teng To, the former editor of the Peking News, is Peng Chen, recently dropped as the mayor of Peking and the secretary of the city's party committee.

This assumption seems fair enough. Teng To is generally considered a protege and ally of Peng Chen. But beyond this, the troubles mount. Peng Chen has not been known as a moderate, but instead as one of the leaders of the hard-line approach in the Chinese party politburo. For instance, it was he who was selected by the party to make the first public official Chinese denunciation of Soviet Premier Khrushchev's policies—at the 1960 congress of the Rumanian Communists in Bucharest.

Furthermore, Peng Chen, on paper the ninth-ranking member of the Chinese politburo, was in actual practice probably about sixth. If he is the target, given the realities of Communist power politics, then the campaign must have originated among the five men ranked above him.

In addition to Mao Tse-tung, these include Chief of State Liu Shao-chik, Premier Chou En-lai, Defense Minister Lin Piao, and the party's general secretary, Teng Hsiao-ping. Of these, at least two, Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, have always been regarded, even by the Chinese, as more moderate than Peng Chen. Therefore, if party moderates are actually the target, these two, rather than Peng, should be the ones threatened with the pillory.

A number of interpretations are possible at this stage. It could be an army-party battle for control. Army newspapers have been leading the attacks on so-called plotters. The party cracked down on the army only last year and there have been recurring indications of resentment among high-ranking officers.

More likely, however, is the possibility that the campaign represents the beginning of the internal party fight for succession to Mao Tse-tung as the party chief. Mao is old and ill. Peng Chen, who was also Teng Hsiao-ping's deputy in the party secretariat, may have made some move to strengthen his position and had to be cut down by his colleagues.

If this is so, the campaign is not likely to stop until the lines of power are clearly drawn. In the midst of such a donnybrook it is unrealistic to label the protagonists as moderates or hard-liners. The issue is control, not ideology, and the views of the winners can only be ascertained after they take power.

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SURPLUS "FRAUD"—Liberal Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) recently accused the Army of "fraud and deception" in disposing of surplus property needed by U.S. forces in Viet Nam. "It is a fraud on the American people," he charged. "It is a fraud on the American taxpayers and a fraud on our boys in Viet Nam." Investigators for Gruening's subcommittee discovered that cranes, trucks, generators and other items critically needed in Viet Nam were being shipped off to foreign lands by the Agency for International Development. Gruening termed untrue statements by the Pentagon and AID that the materials were obsolete.

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MENTAL HEALTH GROWTH—Administration hucksters recently announced a "streamlining" of the National Institute of Mental Health. The reorganized NIMH now has 146 offices, branches and sections, compared to 106 before.

THE PESTICIDE JUNGLE

By Laura Tallian

CANCER, LEUKEMIA, BIRTH DEFORMITY, LIVER AND KIDNEY AILMENTS FROM SPRAYED FOOD. Documented evidence of rejection of safe pest control for profits. The challenge—"**don't give babies poisoned milk**"—to California's Governor Edmund G. Brown shows how to strike at guilty officials. An answer to poisoned milk suggested from thirty years agricultural experience.

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Many Commencement 'Walk-Outs'

The New National Cult of Boorishness

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

A few weeks ago I sat in on an exhibition of educational slobbishness which would have raised Emily Post's eyebrows clear up to the part in her hair. One of our great universities had formally invited Arthur Goldberg to address its annual Charter Day exercises, and our United Nations ambassador had flown from coast to coast in order to participate.

He was welcomed to the august ceremonies by a rousing chorus of boos, cat-calls and hisses from the scholarly if somewhat slatternly student body members who chose to disagree with their guest's viewpoint on certain highly complex international issues.

Several hundred of the beard-and-leotard set waited until he started to deliver his speech and then clumped noisily and ostentatiously out of the stadium, trailing their gimcrack signs and florid posters behind them.

The speaker took this particularly offensive oafishness in stride, remarking mildly that a lifetime spent in labor-management negotiations had accustomed him to a certain amount of this sort of thing. The university president cracked a few jokes about it, and the chancellor positively beamed jovial approval upon his morose mutineers.

Some especially fatuous remarks were exchanged about the "invigorating climate of free inquiry" and the "healthy exercise of the right to disagree" which so obviously permeated the campus and which had just happened to seek expression by roundly insulting a distinguished and invited guest.

Now, I hold no brief for Mr. Goldberg. Much of his speech I felt like booing myself, notably the part where he deprecated historic patriotism and made a big pitch for submerging our national identity in the great world state of international brotherhood.

Considering the condition of international brotherhood these days, this would be equivalent to the submerging of his identity which Daniel underwent when he was tossed into the lions' den. But I grimly restrained myself.

Why? Because my sainted mother taught me at a very early age to be polite to people whom I invited into my home. Whether I like them or not.

Mr. Goldberg was a guest in the academic home of these unwashed undergraduates. He didn't force himself upon them. They weren't forced to come hear him. They could have remained in their pads and continued their interminable colloquy on the delights of LSD and the best way to avoid the draft. However, they didn't. They chose to go out of their way to be rude to a world figure who had come a long way because he was invited.

Frankly, I'm at a loss to label this type of behavior. If the big-mouths had been ultra-conservative, then of course there would have been no problem of labeling. The press would have leaped to dust off the "anti-semitic" tag, and it would have been hung promptly and permanently around the necks of the dissenters.

But the booers and hissers in this case were impeccably liberal, bearing all the stigmata of the ultra-left from Prince Valiant hairdos to John-the-Baptist sandals. And of course we know that leftists are never, never anti-semitic, are they?

I'm equally sure that the behavior I witnessed had nothing whatever to do with any "invigorating climate of free inquiry" which may hang about this campus like smog about the La Brea tar pits. What I saw was the exact opposite of free inquiry. It was a raucous and pre-plotted attempt to suppress it.

I'm reluctant to call this conduct stupid ignorance, if only because everyone is constantly telling me how brilliant and talented these bearded beatniks actually are. So I can only conclude that their mothers never taught them how to behave to visitors. Apparently what mater failed to do, alma mater is now going to have to undertake.

It does seem rather a waste of taxpayer's money, though, to usher these mewling Maoists through a university course in elementary good manners. Maybe it would be cheaper to give them an entrance exam in etiquette before letting them in the place originally.

Oh, I almost forgot.

I got booed, too, shortly before Mr. Goldberg took his licks. But I figure it was my own darned fault. You see, I had thoughtlessly showered before going on campus. If I had just managed to avoid soap and razor for a couple of weeks before the event I'm sure I would have been readily accepted as one of the "in" group.

Who knows? They might even have asked me to take "tea" with them. After we had shown our devotion to free speech, of course, by walking out on Mr. Goldberg.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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Credit Controls Rejection Sensible

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

Rejection by the House of a proposal which would have given President Johnson standby power to regulate consumer credit was sensible legislative action. The 275-to-73 vote by which the plan was killed reflected the distaste of House members for the measure.

The House Banking Committee had included the proposal in legislation to extend the Defense Production Act two additional years. After defeating the credit-control proposal on a rollcall, the House approved extension of the act by voice vote.

The credit control provision was drafted by Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D.-Wis.).

President Johnson now has too much control power over the American economy. What is needed is control on federal spending for "Great Society" programs.

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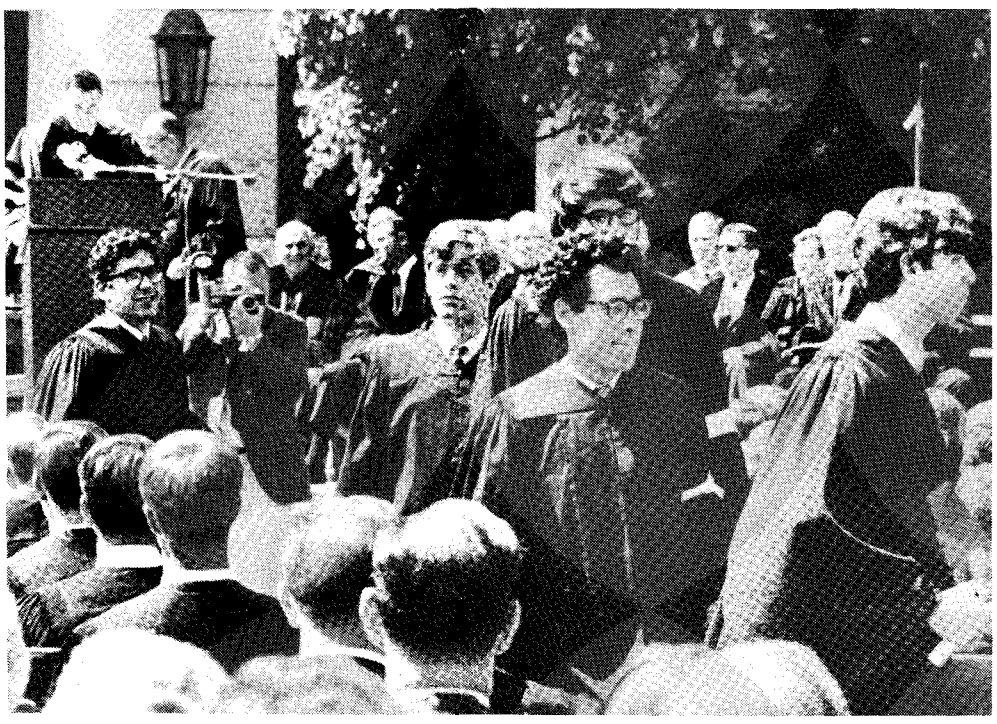
REP. GEORGE MAHON (D.-Tex.), powerful chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, is obviously reading the mail from back home. "I think we need to try to hold the line in spending," he said recently. "The people want to hold the line. . . . I speak as an American, as a citizen, as a man who. . .believes this country is going too far too fast in some federal programs, spending too much money, and tending sometimes to overlook the war in Viet Nam."



Recently, five Amherst College seniors walked out of commencement exercises in protest against Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and U. S. policies in Viet Nam. McNamara, seated at left center, gave the commencement address.

New Gold Rush

Can California Be Bought?

From the San Diego *Union*

One thing sure, in the next four months California will witness a migration unique in its experience.

Political men and money will flow into the state as never before—for the battle of California.

The national Democratic Administration will not, if it can help it, let Gov. Pat Brown go down to defeat before Ronald Reagan and a resurgent Republican movement.

This struggle will not call for financial sacrifices only on the part of the individual Democratic contributors. All of the taxpayers of the United States unwittingly will be made to support the Democratic campaign.

California is the most populous state in the Union and a Republican victory in November would most certainly signal the beginning of the end of the political extravagances of the "Great Society."

But as long as the United States Treasury is available, the Administration will fight on with dollars as well as with promises for every vote.

This may sound cynical. But many knowledgeable persons are beginning to wonder how you can fight a national Administration which has such vast sums of money and economic and political power at its disposal.

Political expenditures can be masked in a thousand ways, all for the "uplift" of the voters.

Hundreds of experts in manipulating voters as well as administrators of government funds soon will be pouring into California, and all at the taxpayers' expense, under the guise of necessary federal cooperation at state and local levels.

Government contracts can be dangled, withheld or granted; city and state projects supported or rejected; blocs of voters rewarded or punished by the handling of welfare money.

California will be pronounced a "have-not" state in sore need of more federal help.

What we will witness may be a crucial phase of a vital issue—can a political party in command of the White House and both Houses of Congress, and with $100 billion to dispense, ever be defeated?

California will be a testing ground of the effect of recent growth of federal power and authority. At stake is the very survival of the two-party system and of the Republic itself.

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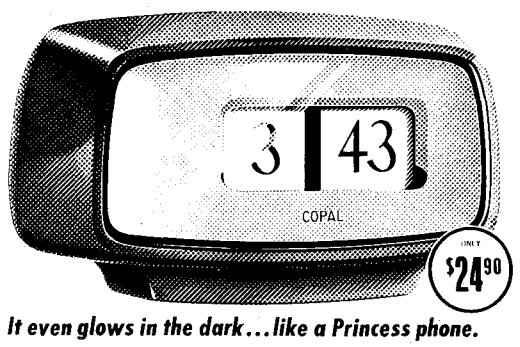

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Time is just time you say? Well read how this Caslon Clock will change the way you read it.

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Paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division move into positions behind a smoke screen near Dak To as they seek out North Vietnamese regulars in the central highlands.

Isolating Viet Nam Battlefield Is the Key to Victory for U.S.

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

If the war in Viet Nam is costly and futile, it is because the United States is violating principles of war as old as mankind. And in war, violation of sound principle brings bitter consequences.

A first objective of battle must be to isolate the battlefield. When you have cut the enemy's sources of reinforcement and resupply, you have so weakened him that your victory becomes certain and easy.

A masterful illustration of the technique was given in Gen. MacArthur's World War II campaigns from New Guinea to the Philippines. In each operation, our control of the sea isolated the enemy in the target area from outside support. It was then necessary only to mop up the enemy forces. In the Philippines, large forces were engaged but the outcome was never in doubt.

Gen. MacArthur's prudent use of American military power made these campaigns outstanding in history for the vast areas recovered, large enemy forces destroyed, and small casualties suffered by our attacking forces.

In Viet Nam, we have not isolated the battlefield. Our combat forces are engaged in frontal jungle warfare with an enemy whose lines of reinforcement and resupply have been steadily increasing in capacity. Washington strategists will not permit our forces to sever these lines. The consequences are mounting casualties and surrender of the initiative to a weak enemy.

Our forces in Viet Nam have the capacity to isolate the battlefield. The superior mobility of our ground forces gives them an advantage analogous to the control of the sea which the United States enjoyed in World War II. They could move to key points on the enemy line of communications in northeast Laos and sever the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The action would be decisive.

Would Ho Chi Minh fight to restore communications with South Viet Nam or would he cease his aggression there? If he elected to fight, our forces could, in properly prepared positions and with overwhelming air power, decimate the attacking North Vietnamese. It is unlikely that he would commit his forces to such an action.

Severing enemy ground communications in Laos would provide immediate and positive isolation of the battlefield. Blockade of North Viet Nam would have a similar effect but would be more remote and less decisive in its impact. Blockade would partially isolate the larger battlefield which includes all of North Viet Nam.

Only by isolating the battlefield can the United States end the aggression against South Viet Nam. This most elementary step of warfare is necessary to end the bloodletting.

President Johnson will not take it. He is requiring our men to fight jungle warfare against an enemy operating from a secure sanctuary. The enemy is well supplied and equipped. He can fight when conditions are favorable and withdraw to his sanctuary when they are not.

There is no historical precedent except Korea for committing men to frontal warfare when they have a clear capability of isolating the battlefield. The illusion of amateur civilian strategists that they have discovered new principles of war seems to be the suicidal affliction of the present Administration.

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IMPLACABLE HATRED—"The whole gospel of Karl Marx can be summed up in a single sentence: Hate the man who is better off than you are. Never under any circumstances admit that his success may be due to his own efforts, to the productive contribution he has made to the whole community. Always attribute his success to the exploitation, the cheating, the more or less open robbery of others. Never under any circumstances admit that your own weaknesses, or that the failure of anyone else may be due to his own defects —his laziness, incompetence, improvidence, or stupidity. Never believe in the honesty or disinterestedness of anyone who disagrees with you. This basic hatred is the heart of Marxism. This is its animating force. You can throw away the dialectical materialism, the Hegelian framework, the technical jargon, the 'scientific' analysis, and millions of pretentious words, and you still have the core: the implacable hatred and envy that are the reason for all the rest."—*Marxism in One Minute* by Henry Hazlitt.

Continued from page 8

Why Bad Press for Free Market?

wants such commissions to control the rapacious man; indeed, he wants to run them; but he is aghast at the idea of any interference with his academic freedom, or his freedom to teach what he wants and direct his research as he wants—which is simply free enterprise as applied to him.

These comments suggest the final reason I want to mention why free enterprise has such a bad press, especially among intellectuals. The role of the intellectual is much more limited in a free society than it is in a controlled society.

I was most impressed with this as I talked to the able, intelligent people at the University of Malaysia. In a planned, collectivist society, they are the ones who are going to sit in the seats of power and to whom the businessmen are going to have to come for import permits, licenses and so on. They are the ones who are going to attend the international conferences and meetings. Let Malaysia follow the path of a free society and their role will be very different.

The minority Chinese in Malaysia are the most effective and energetic businessmen and hence will be in the positions of power in a free market society. The intellectuals will be reduced to being their advisers or simply teachers in a university. Of course, no intellectual will say this explicitly, but implicitly he knows well that he can run the country better than "they" can.

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WE DIDN'T REALIZE—President Johnson said he wants to keep prices low, but we didn't realize he was referring to the stock market.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Costly Shortages

By REP. ED REINECKE (R.-Calif.)

Just the other day I received an answer from Lt. Gen. L.J. Lincoln, U.S. Army deputy chief of staff for logistics. In his letter to me he admitted that there have been "local temporary shortages" of uniforms, boots and other necessary equipment. He indicated that the shortage was "temporary" but would not be solved until 1967—in the middle of the year. It seems to me this is an obvious and logical example of a case where Secretary McNamara's cost reduction programs have, in fact, turned out to be cost expansion programs because, again referring to the letter from Lt. Gen. Lincoln, 135,000 pairs of combat boots were shipped to Viet Nam in May of 1966 and many of them had to go by air, thus increasing the cost substantially over the cost of the boots originally.

Capital Changes

By REP. CHARLES TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

I am not an expert on architecture and so am unable to say whether those who are charging that the proposed alterations [of the west front] would constitute disfiguration of our historic Capitol are right or wrong. But I do say that this $34-million project should at least be deferred and the money spent for improvement of District of Columbia school facilities and the general level of education in the District's elementary and secondary school systems. Both structures and instruction are poor in standard, particularly in the poorer sections of the city. These are basically federal responsibilities and should be given the attention they deserve before we embark on any lavish program to redesign the Capitol.

True Representatives

By REP. THOMAS B. CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

Representative as well as constitutional government no longer exists in Washington, D.C., today. It can return only when a majority of the members of the present Congress decide that representative government itself is more important than their own re-election or more important than their own ideas of what will benefit our society, more important than the Democratic party itself . . . and that enough members of the Republican party make a similar decision because I can tell you there are some Republicans who aren't opposed to basically what has happened, the temporary (I hope it is temporary) loss of representatve government. They are only opposed apparently because they aren't in on the power grab . . . or because the policies being carried out are contrary to their ideas of what is good for the society. . . . Or it can return after this coming November election if the people elect a majority to the Congress, Republicans or Democrats, ADAers or Birchers—so long as the majority elected agree that representative government must be re-established in Washington and then do something about it and utilize it.

Food for Enemies

By REP. GEORGE HANSEN (R.-Idaho)

An interesting action by Administration forces with respect to farm parity came during the recent voting on the "Food for Freedom" bill. These forces were so anxious to trade with Communist countries on a "favored nation" basis that they voted against even 80 per cent of parity for American farmers. Coupled in a Republican amendment to the bill were proposals which would have prevented sales on 40-year, low-interest rate terms to Communist countries, and would have prevented Secretary Freeman from dumping Commodity Credit Corporation stocks on the domestic market to depress prices. Administration forces voted almost solidly against these proposals, and thereby also voted almost solidly against the American farmer and the American taxpayers. Bi-partisan support for the general objectives of the "Food for Peace"—or, as it is now called, the "Food for Freedom" program—is overwhelming. It has been eminently successful in helping underprivileged countries and has also led to the disposal of American farm surpluses through sales abroad. But many of us fail to see why the American farmer and taxpayer should subsidize countries that are not only unfriendly toward us, but actually hostile as well, shown by their trade with Cuba and North Viet Nam.

Unneeded Aid

By REP. CHARLES GOODELL (R.-N. Y.)

After spending $190,000 on a Neighborhood Youth Corps program, the project coordinator of La-Grange, Texas, said, "We didn't have a poverty program. We didn't operate it as a poverty program. We took the position that if young people were loafing, we'd put them to work and do a lot of good." The Houston *Post* commented: "One of the worst fiascos in the history of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Texas." And, as one person commented, "If they went down the list far enough, a boy with a father and mother who made $20,000 a year could have been hired." Specific examples of this have been documented by the Republicans. This program, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the entire poverty program, must be drastically revised before it's too late.

New Jobless Bill

Power of a Responsible Press

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

I have always held to the theory that once the American people are well informed on the details of a given legislative issue, the ultimate action by the Congress is likely to be responsive to the consensus of national opinion. Whenever this theory has been tested, it has proven itself over and over again, and the most outstanding example can be drawn from a bill being brought to the chamber of the House of Representatives for action this week. The bill is H.R. 15119, the Unemployment Insurance Amendments of 1966. The difference between this bill and the original Administration bill, H.R. 8282, is as great as the difference between day and night.

H.R. 8282 was introduced in the House of Representatives on May 19, 1965. At first it went largely unnoticed by the public. But then, as the impact of the bill became apparent to a relatively small number of concerned citizens, an effort was started to inform the public. Newspapers, magazines and radio commentators began alerting the people to the ramifications of H.R. 8282. (See *Human Events* Jan. 15, 1966, page 6.) Said the *Reader's Digest* in its February 1966 issue, "The unemployment-compensation bill now before Congress will cost additional billions, encroach on the states' traditional rights and bring us all a step nearer to the complete welfare state."

Speaking from Washington, D.C., a nationally known radio commentator said, "It would encourage chiseling at public expense. Employes who quit their jobs would be eligible for unemployment benefits. So would most workers dismissed for cause. They could turn down new jobs offering suitable wages and working conditions—and still receive jobless pay."

It wasn't long before congressmen began hearing from their constituents. And did they hear! Letters by the thousands rolled in.

REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

On May 18 of this year the long-awaited announcement came. The Ways and Means Committee had totally rejected the concepts of H.R. 8282, and had approved instead an entirely new bill. Said Rep. John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin, the ranking Republican on the committee, "We have succeeded . . . in defeating an Administration bill which would have weakened our present system of state programs of unemployment compensation. A bill which will strengthen that system, updating and improving it, has been sent to the floor for action instead."

As soon as the committee announcement came, I sent summaries of the new bill to many of the people who had written me of their opposition to H.R. 8282. I asked them to analyze the new provisions and let me know what they thought. Almost without exception, the response was overwhelmingly in favor of the new bill.

I shall vote for H.R. 15119 this week and I imagine most congressmen will.

The American press, in this instance, has performed a public service for which it deserves the highest praise and gratitude from the people it serves. May it continue to be as alert in the future.

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Calif. Democrats Nominate Peaceniks for Congress

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

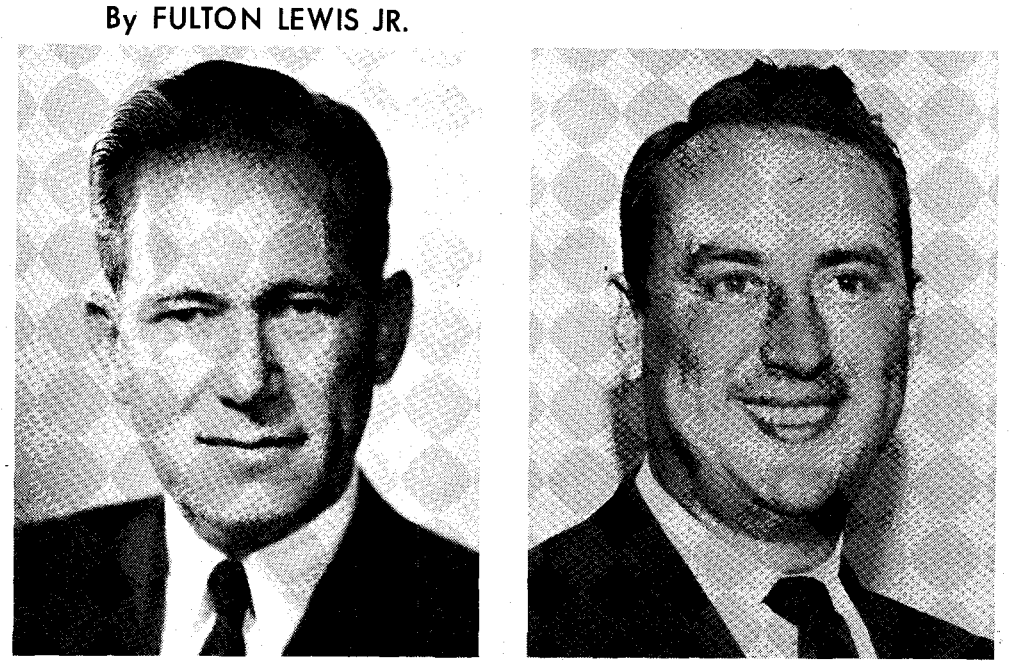
Ronald Reagan's smashing triumph in California's Republican gubernatorial primary has obscured another fact of considerable significance: on the Democratic side, radical leftists opposed to U.S. policy in Viet Nam ran strongly throughout the state.

The peaceniks pose a real problem to Democratic Gov. Pat Brown, who rates as a decided underdog in his campaign for a third term. By currying their favor, Brown will further alienate the conservative and moderate Democrats who gave Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty almost one million votes in the gubernatorial primary.

Peace candidates lost in three northern California congressional districts—Robert Scheer in Oakland-Berkeley, Edward Keating in San Mateo County, and Philip Drath in the sprawling, northernmost 1st District—but each polled at least 45 per cent of the vote.

All three have announced they will not support Brown until he condemns American involvement in Viet Nam. A similar position was taken by William Bennett, an ultra-liberal Democrat who received 411,-759 votes in an unsuccessful race for the party's nomination for state attorney general.

At least six peaceniks opposed to President Johnson's Viet Nam policy actually won nomination for Congress. Reps. George Brown of Los Angeles and Don Edwards of San Jose won renomination against Democrats who supported U.S. policy. Four other peace candidates were nominated without opposition in the Democratic primary. They are Robert Leggett and Phillip Burton, both incumbents, and LaRue Grimm, all from the San Francisco



Incumbent Representatives Don Edwards, left, and Phillip Burton were among the "peace" candidates chosen by California Democrats.

Bay area, and Lawrence Sherman of Los Angeles.

Note: An avowed Communist, Dorothy Healey, polled 86,147 votes in a losing bid for the office of Los Angeles county assessor. Running on a get-out-of-Viet Nam platform, Mrs. Healey received widespread support from peace and civil rights forces. Working in her campaign were members of the Young Democrats, the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Congress of Racial Equality.

In Alameda County (Oakland-Berkeley) an identified Communist, Robert Treuhaft, received 28 per cent of the vote for district attorney. Treuhaft, husband of author Jessica Mitford, was labeled a Communist in 1953 and 1957 by three witnesses in sworn testimony and invoked the 5th Amendment when questioned by House probers.

Reports the House Committee on Un-American Activities: "Treuhaft was identified as a member of the Communist party in sworn testimony before this committee on Dec. 2, 1953, by Dickson P. Hill and on Dec. 3, 1953, by Charles D. Blodgett. He was again identified on June 19, 1957, by Dr. Jack Patten. Treuhaft appeared as a witness before this committee on Dec. 3, 1953, and refused to answer questions concerning his Communist party membership, basing his refusal on the protection of the 5th Amendment."

★ ★ ★

Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) has uncovered what he terms a "scandalous" situation in which Job Corps officials received raises of 50 per cent and more to join the Administration's "War on Poverty." The GOP lawmaker studied the books of five Job Corps centers and cites the following all-too-typical cases:

- A "group life supervisor" at Fort Custer, Kalamazoo, Mich., was given a 98 per cent raise, from $4,800 to $9,515 when he joined the anti-poverty team.
- A man making $3,005 was hired as a $9,506 personnel supervisor at Camp Kilmer, N.J. This represents a pay hike of 216 per cent.
- A security chief at Camp Atterbury, Ind., was signed up for $12,000 a year. This amounts to a 140 per cent raise over the $5,004 he had been earning.
- A $5,000 physical education instructor was given a 70 per cent raise to $8,500 at Camp Rodman, New Bedford, Mass.

Quie will introduce an amendment to the anti-poverty bill that would limit salary increases of Job Corps personnel to 20 per cent above their previous pay, unless otherwise authorized by "War on Poverty" Director R. Sargent Shriver. The Minnesota congressman initially proposed the amendment inside the House Education and Labor Committee, but Democrats took their cue from Chairman Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) and defeated it on a straight party-line vote.

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REP. JOEL T. BROYHILL (R.-Va.) recently polled his constitutents, found that 78 per cent favor stepped-up bombing of North Viet Nam and 75 per cent a naval quarantine of North Viet Nam. A large percentage of those responding to Broyhill's poll are, incidentally, employes of the federal government.

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